## U. S. Department of Justice

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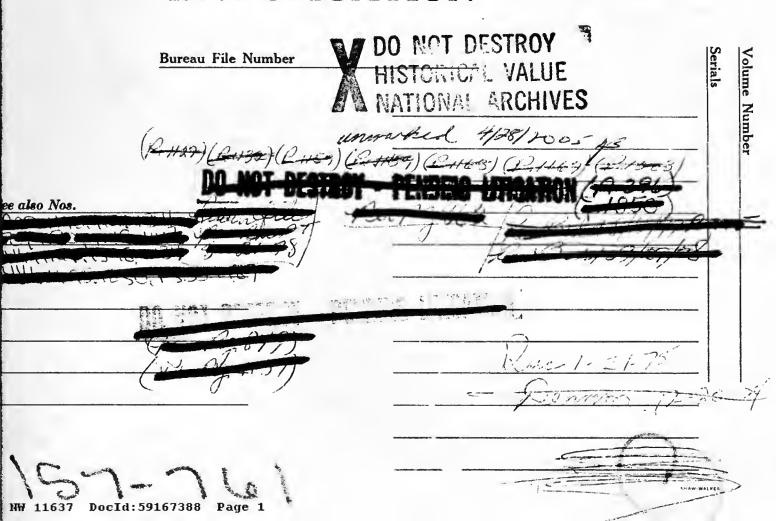
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Declassified Authority: RD 35219 By: Steve Tilley Date: 04-15-2014

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NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 2

0-9 (Rev. 5-22-64)

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t the following in	n	Date: 3/4/68
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To:	SAC, Albany	PERSONAL ATTENTION
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Wrom:	Director, FBI (	(100-448006)
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for Inter	rnal Security for	Bureau routing purposes.
PERSONAL	ATTENTION FOR AL	L THE FOLLOWING SACS
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Sent Via NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 3

### BACKGROUND

By letter dated 8/25/67 the following offices were advised of the beginning of a Counterintelligence Program against militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups:

Albany
Atlanta
Baltimore
Boston
Buffalo
Charlotte
Chicago
Cincinnati
Cleveland
Detroit
Jackson
Los Angeles

Memphis
Newark
New Orleans
New York
Philadelphia
Phoenix
Pittsburgh
Richmond
St. Louis
San Francisco
Washington Field

Each of the above offices was to designate a Special Agent to coordinate this program. Replies to this letter indicated an interest in counterintelligence against militant black nationalist groups that foment violence and several offices outlined procedures which had been effective in the past. For example, Washington Field Office had furnished information about a new Nation of Islam (NOI) grade school to appropriate authorities in the District of Columbia who investigated to determine if the school conformed to District regulations for private schools. In the process WFO obtained background information on the parents of each pupil.

The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a pro-Chinese communist group, was active in Philadelphia, Pa., in the summer of 1967. The Philadelphia Office alerted local police, who then put RAM leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, RAM leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to RAM took place.

The Counterintelligence Program is now being expanded to include 41 offices. Each of the offices added to this program should designate an Agent familiar with black

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

### GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

- l. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.
- 2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammed all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammed is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.
- 3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neuralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.
- 4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community,

both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and radical statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

Besides these five goals counterintelligence is a valuable part of our regular investigative program as it often produces positive information.

### TARGETS

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members, and followers of the:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) Nation of Islam (NOI)

Offices handling these cases and those of Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, H. Rap Brown of SNCC, Martin Luther King of SCLC, Maxwell Stanford of RAM, and Elijah Muhammed of NOI, should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

## INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

- 2. Submit a very succinct summary of the black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each black nationalist group. Also state your estimate of each groups propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes. Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant black nationalists and any other militant black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.
- 3. List those organizations and individuals you consider of such potential danger as to be considered for current counterintelligence action. Briefly justify each target.
- 4. Submit any suggestion you have for overall counterintelligence action or the administration of this program. Suggestions for action against any specific target should be submitted by separate letter.
- 5. Submit, by separate letter, suggestions for counterintelligence action against the targets previously listed as field-wide. These should not be general, such as "publicize Stokely Carmichael's travel to communist countries," but should be specific as to target, what is to be done, what contacts are to be used, and all other information needed for the Bureau to approve a counterintelligence operation.

Thereafter, on a ninety\_day basis, each office is to submit a progress letter summarizing counterintelligence operations proposed during the period, operations effected, and tangible results. Any changes in the overall black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration, 2. Operations Being Effected, 3. Tangible Results, and 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest. These 90-day progress letters are due at the Bureau the first day of March, June, September, and December, excepting March, 1968.

The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

то

DESIGNATED SECURITY AGENTS AND SENIOR RESIDENT AGENTS DATE: 3/14/68

FROM :

SAC

(157-761)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Buded: 4/4/68

The Indianapolis Office has recently been included with some 40 other offices in the Counterintelligence Program in relation to the investigation of militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups.

Other offices previously participating in above program, outlined various counterintelligence procedures against militant Black Nationalist groups that foment violence, those procedures being as follows:

For example, Washington Field Office had furnished information about a new Nation of Islam (NOI) grade school to appropriate authorities in the District of Columbia who investigated to determine if the school conformed to District regulations for private schools. In the process WFO obtained background information on the parents of each pupil.

19 Indianapolis

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1 - SA FLETCHER 1 - SA CASABURO

1 - SA MILLEN

1 - SA FARNER

1 - SA OWEN

1 - SA BRANNON

1 - SA HORTH

1 - SA WILLIAMS

1 - SA MC LAUGHLIN

1 - SA PENN

1 - SA BRAVER

1 - SA SMOCK

1 - SA LISTON

1 - SA MC DONALD

1 - SA KING

1 - SA MATTINGLY

1 - Supervisor TILLER

MBM: plp
(19) pep

157-761-2

OVER

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The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a pro-Chinese communist group, was active in Philadelphia, Pa., in the summer of 1967. The Philadelphia Office alerted local police, who then put RAM leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, RAM leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to RAM took place.

Each new office participating in this program including the Indianapolis Office, was to designate an Agent familiar with Black Nationalist activity and interested in counterintelligence to coordinate this program.

### GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

- l. Prevent the <u>coalition</u> of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.
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- 5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

#### TARGETS

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Offices handling these cases and those of Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, H. Rap Brown of SNCC, Martin Luther King of SCLC, Maxwell Stanford of RAM, and Elijah Muhammad of NOI should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

### INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

- 1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.
- 2. Submit a very succinct summary of the black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each black nationalist group. Also state your estimate of each group's propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes. Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant black nationalists and any other militant black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.
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and tangible results. Any changes in the overall black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:

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The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this, the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.

All Designated Agents receiving a copy of this memorandum, should by 3/28/68, submit the name of the black militant organization in your area, including the names of the leaders of that organization, degree of activity, in your area, number of individuals in the organizations, membership and the group or organizations potential for violence.

All Agents should also be alert for any Afro-American student groups on campuses throughout the State of Indiana.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.8

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

SAC, Indianapolis (157~761)

DATE: 3-15-68

FROM

SA JOHN R. SMOCK

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Buded 4-4-68

Reference: SAC memo dated 3/14/68

There are no black militant organizations in the territory

covered by the La fayette Resident Agency.

SERIALIZED MAR 2 0 1968
FBI - INDIANAPOLIS

MILLIAN MAR 2 0 1968



OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

SAC (157-761)

(attn SA MILLEN)

FROM

SA ROBERT C. BRAVER

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re memo, 3/14/68.

Through constant contacts with law enforcement officers and other sources, it has been determined there are no black militant organizations in the Kokomo RA territory.

In addition to the above Det. Sgt. RUSSELL NICHOLAS, Kokomo PD and Capt. of Dets. QUENTIN PETTIFORD, Marion PD both advise they have sources who would immediately advise them of any action on the part of the Negro community which might have any adverse effect on any element of the community. Both NICHOLAS and PETTIFORD are Negroes and are fully aware of all Negro activities in Kokomo and Marion, Indiana.

Recent investigation has reflected no Afro-American student groups on campuses in the Kokomo RA territory.

SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED PLED MAR 18 1968

FBI - INDIANAPOLIST

DATE: 3/15/68

1 - 157-761

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

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SAC .

(157 - 761)

(etth. SA millen)

DATE: 3-22-68

FROM :

SA IRVIN K. OWEN

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurmemo dated 3-14-68.

A survey of the Bloomington Resident Agency reflects that are no BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS, such as SNCC, SCLC, RAM or NOI, organized in this area.

It is noted, however, that recently there have been attempts to organize a group at Indiana University which may become "Black Militant" in nature. ROBERT LESLIE JOHNSON attempted to organize the AFRO, AFRO-AMERICAN STUDENT ASSOC. (AAASA) at I.U. last year but was unable to do so due to lack of interest. Recent SI reports have indicated that the AAASA has evidently been organized at I.U. and has begun some minor activity. If this organization continues to be run by JOHNSON, it is possible that it may develope into a "Black Militant" type group.

If not already done, it is suggested that the file concerning the AAASA be reopened and assigned to SA OWEN to determine the extent of the activities of this organization.

IKO/ cc: 1-157-761 2-100-15858 (AAASA)

SEARCHED GIDENED SÉRIALIZED MAR 28 1960

FBI - INDIANAPOLIS

MILLE MARIE MARIE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1982 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

то : SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

DATE: 3/28/68

FROM

SA WILLIAM EARL WHALEY

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM HACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re memo dated 3/14/68.

It is to be noted that only one black militant type organization is known to exist in the Evansville area and this is a small group of the Nation Of Islam. The minister of this group is ISAAC WHITE; the assistant minister is CLEO JAMES DINWIDDIE. Total membership is 5 or 6; however, visitors attend the meetings from time to time. This group meets normally on Mondays, Wednesday, and Fridays. They also make trips to Chicago when NOI events are held there.

The NOI has been very poorly accepted by Evansville Negro and the group has had very little say in the community. The group has shown no positive potential for violence since they have such a small following. Members have been told, however, that they should be prepared for the possible riots this summer. No further instructions have been given.

It is to be further noted that ISAAC WHITE has been the leader of the Evansville NOI since its inception and has advocated NOI teachings of black nationalism. For the above reason it is felt that ISAAC WHITE should be placed on the Rabell Reuser Index.

2 - IP WEW/wew (2)





# Memorandum

TO

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

DATE: 3/27/68

FROM

SA ELDON 1. PENN

SUBJECT:

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALISTS HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re SAC memo 3/14/68.

This is to advise that on 3/21/68,

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

both Negro sources in these cities, advised that there are no Black Nationalist Hate Groups operating in their respective cities.

Indianapolis
EnP:css

SEARCHED INDEXED MARO 7 1968



# lemorandum

SAC. IP (157-761) (P) ATTN: SA H. WILLEN

DATE: 4/1/68

: SA NEAL J. NCLAUGHLIN

TO

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

NOI, Gary, Indiana, Nosque #33, 1221 Washington, St.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D) advised on 3/29/68, the above temple of the NOI continues to maintain a hard core membership of approximately 40 members, the membership being about equally divided between male and female. The only change in the leadership since last reported has been the replacement of ERMINE 2X LOWE as captain of the FOI. by LEE KELLY POLK. The organization has been primarily religious in nature and wasnoted as having taken no active part in the recent Gary Nayorality election in which a Negro was elected mayor. As the majority of its members are mature employed individuals with no current arrest records it is doubted if there is any potential for violence

NOI, EAST CHICAGO, Ind. .3731 Butternut St.

FOIA(b)(7) = (D) advised on 3/29/68, that the above mosque has only about 6 Or 7 active members. There has been no change in the leadership of Johnnie 5x Sharp, Wilbur 2x Green. This mosque has been limited to religious activities. According to Chief of Detectives, E. Cg, PD, Mike Banas, his dept. is aware of the existance of the NOI but advised on 4/1/68 that his Dept. has never had any probeems regarding any of the members of this mosque, within the past few months.

NATIONAL BLACK MOVEMENT IN AMERICA, INC. E. Chicato, Ind.

E. Chicago, I.d. Chief of Detectives, MIKE BANAS advised on 4/1/68 that RAY RUCKER is tstill confined to Beatty Demorial Mospital, Westfille, Ind. The ther other 3 known members of this group are no longer in the East Chicago, area.,

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FUI - INDIANAPOLIS



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 3/4/68.

- 1. SA MARK B. MILLEN has been designated to coordinate this program, Indianapolis Division.
- 2.
- A. Succinct Summary of Black Nationalist Movement in Indianapolis Division.
- 1. Nation of Blam (NOI)

The NOI is the largest black nationalist organization within this Division with an approximated total membership of 196 to 222. They have seven groups as follows:

Muhammad's Temple 31, South Bend, Indiana, with between 100 and 125 members, meets regularly, and owns their own building.

Muhammad's Mosque Number 33, Gary, Indiana, maintains approximately 40 members. In addition, holds regular meetings in Gary and also participates in activities of the Chicago Temple.

Muhammad's Mosque, Indianapolis, Indiana, has no number, having only approximately 30 members. This Mosque, until recently, was serviced by a minister from Temple Number 2 in Chicago, but now has its own minister.

Muhammad's Temple, East Chicago, Indiana, only has approximately six to seven members, the minister being sent from Temple Number 2 in Chicago each Sunday, and there are plans to move this temple to Hammond, Indiana.

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157-761-9

Muhammad's Temple, Evansville, Indiana, has been in existence since 1950, but has never had over ten members, and is relatively ineffective.

(A. 66) Muhammad's Mosques have recently been started at Muncie, Indiana, where there are approximately six members and at Fort Wayne, Indiana, with only four members. These Mosques to date have engaged in no activities, other than holding meetings on Sunday afternoons.

All of the above NOI groups follow the teachings and doctrines laid down by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, and although they preach separation of the races and belittlement of the white man, none of them have actually proposed any violence and it is the estimate of this office that although there may be no actual teachings of violence, the hatred theme could effect some members, and under the right circumstances, violence could erupt.

#### 2. Radical Action Project (RAP) Indianapolis, Indiana

C. C. Bridge

This organization was founded in Indianapolis in the fall of 1967, by several white ministers attached to community houses in the inter-city ghetto area and several black power advocates residing in the ghetto area near 17th and Broadway, Indianapolis, Indiana. Since that time, the black power advocates from the local community have taken over the organization, ousting from positions of leadership, all of the white ministers. At this time, the organization is run by a twelve man Board of Directors, all of whom are the more active and prominent being GERALD CUNNINGHAM, a Negro member of the Board of Safety, Indianapolis; MARCUS STEWART, editor of the Indianapolis Recorder, Negro newspaper; BENJAMIN BELL, operator of the College Room, a teen-age and young adult recreation house in the ghetto area; CHARLES HENDRICKS, an employee of Forward, Inc., an Apostolical Church, Ghetto Area Project and RONALD E. MC INTOSH, who is also employed by Forward, Inc. This group

advocates black power, stating they mean this to be accomplished by legal means, such as negotiation, petition, and obtaining economic and political power for the Negro They state they intend to instill self pride in the Negro individual and confidence that they can handle their own affairs in their own community. Certain members of this organization in soliciting funds for their various employment, education and recreational projects, have alarmed some members of the white community by stating that if sufficient funds are not obtained, they cannot be responsible for controlling the more radical members of the community, and that if the town burns, it will be the responsibility of the white power structure for not providing sufficient funds. Although this group has not engaged in any violence, it does have a number of young militant members, who certainly have a propensity for violence if the circumstances for such are right. This group presently has 74 members, of whom approximately 50 are teen-agers.

### 3. Afro-American Student Association

At Indiana University (IU), Bloomington, Indiana, a group which calls itself the Afro, Afro-American Student Association, was recently formed for the original purpose of collecting funds to aid students at South Carolina State College, where recent riots occurred. This group also, within the past week, held a protest meeting against the United Klans of America, holding a march in Bloomington, Indiana. In addition, they sent a delegation to President STAHR of the University protesting the University's Racial Problem Committee, insisting that Negro students be placed on this committee, which demand was met by President STAHR. group is composed of Negro students and presently is estimated to have between 15 and 20 members. They have not as yet, proposed any violence, but is clearly a black militant group. Also within the past two weeks, a group without a name, composed of Afro-American students at the University of Notre Dame has been formed, but as of yet, has engaged in no activities.

## 4. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

There have been no SNCC organizations in Indiana, until February, 1968, when a SNCC organizer from Chicago made a talk at the First Unitarian Church in South Bend, Indiana. They have recruited three or four members, all Negro, who were reportedly sent to a SNCC school in Ohio for training. To date, they have held only two or three meetings, and attendance has not been over ten persons, including about half white. This local group will undoubtedly follow the teachings of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the national leader of SNCC, however, to date has engaged in no activity.

On 3/24/68, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, national leader in SNCC, made a speech in an empty store, Gary, Indiana, having been brought in by a local Gary man, EGBERT ADDISON, who advised he was planning to organize a SNCC chapter in Gary. CARMICHAEL was approximately one and a half hours late for the meeting, only had between 50 and 65 persons in attendance, and made a rather mild speech, advising the local Negroes they should organize under SNCC to stand up for their rights. To date, there has been no additional meetings; however, it is expected ADDISON will again organize a SNCC chapter in Gary.

The propensity of violence of these SNCC organizations cannot be stated at this time, as they are so new locally; however, propensity of the national organization is well known and it is believed the local groups will eventually follow such directions.

### 5. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

The only CORE chapter in Indiana is in Indianapolis, and the chairman of this group, DONALD BUNDLES, has advised this office that he only has three or four members, and has not been able to develop this group and cause it to grow. To date, the only activity of this group has been to make some

public endorsements for or against certain programs of the local governments in relation to highway placement or slum clearance.

6. National Black Movement in America, Inc. (NBMIA)

This group, which has never grown beyond three members, although it has attempted to influence more, was organized by RAYMOND RUCKER in East Chicago, Indiana, in 1967. RUCKER, who is reported to be FOIA(b)(6) had numerous run-ins with the East Chicago Police Department, and has proposed burning several buildings in the East Chicago area; however, he has recently been committed to FOIA(b)(6) and without his presence, it is not believed this organization has any propensity for violence.

B. Rabble Rouser Index Subjects, Indianapolis Division

The only individual presently on the Rabble Rouser Index is RAYMOND RUCKER, who states he is the national and international president of the "National Black Movement in America, Inc." (NBMIA). RUCKER is from East Chicago, Indiana.

The following individuals are presently being recommended by the Indianapolis Office to be included on the Rabble Rouser Index:

### Nation of Islam (NOI)

1. DANIEL GREEN, Negro male, born 6/6/16, Mississippi, is presently the NOI minister at Muhammad's Mosque, 2905 Clifton, Indianapolis, Indiana. GREEN resides at 2429 Broadway, Indianapolis, is married, and works as a barber at the Shabazz Barber Shop, 418 East 23rd Street, also Indianapolis. GREEN espouses to the NOI way of thinking and is an ardent follower of the national leader of the NOI, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

- 2. SAMUEL PICKETT, Negro male, born 10/20/22, Birmingham, Alabama, is now the minister at Temple Number 31, South Bend, Indiana. PICKETT resides at Chicago, Illinois, and works as a factory assembler by the Parker Hannifin Company, also Chicago, Illinois. PICKETT is a true follower of MUHAMMAD in Chicago and is follower of all NOI policies.
- 3. SAMUEL POLK, Negro male, born 4/1/25, Mississippi, and has been associated with the NOI since the early 1950's. He became an NOI officer at Muhammad's Temple of Islam Number 2, Chicago, in 1954. POLK is the NOI minister at Mosque Number 33, Gary, Indiana, where he has served in that capacity for a number of years. He is an ardent follower of MUHAMMAD and is very dedicated to the NOI cause.
- 4. WILLIAM BAYLOR, a Negro male, born 8/10/84, Shelton, South Carolina, was a former Baptist minister at Chicago, Illinois, until about 1940. BAYLOR resides at 4830 South Forrestville Avenue, Chicago, and is unemployed. BAYLOR is self-described as a devout Muslim. BAYLOR has been a Muslim for over 20 years and is still considered to be the minister at the East Chicago, Indiana NOI group.
- 5. JOHNNIE LEE SLACK, a Negro male, born 2/1/27, Taylor, Texas, became associated with the NOI at East Chicago, Indiana, in about 1961. In 1964, SLACK became the A Assistant Minister at Muhammad's Temple in East Chicago, where he still serves in that same capacity. SLACK resides at 3830 Drummond, East Chicago, Indiana, and is employed as an inspector by the Rauland Corporation, 2407 West North Avenue, Melrose Park, Illinois. Because of BAYLOR's advanced age, SLACK primarily directs the temple's activities in East Chicago, Indiana. SLACK continues to be an ardent follower of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the NOI and its policies.

- 6. JIMMIE PASCHAL, a Negro male, born 2/12/32, Macon, Mississippi, resides at 2515 Oliver Street, Fort Wayne, Indiana, and is employed as an order filler by the A. H. Perfect and Company, a wholesale grocery, at Fort Wayne. He is the NOI minister of the Fort Wayne NOI group and a follower of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.
- 7. HORACE BLEDSOE, a Negro male, born 7/5/36, Pulaski, Tennessee, has been minister of the Fort Wayne NOI group since approximately September, 1967. He resides at 920 East First Street, Fort Wayne, and is unemployed. As this groups minister, he receives his direction from NOI Headquarters, Chicago, and is a great believer in MUHAMMAD's policies.
- 8. ISAAC WHITE, a Negro male, born 2/3/06, Thornton, Arkansas, resides at 600 North 12th Avenue, Evansville, Indiana, and is self-employed as an independent contractor. He is reported to have established Muhammad's Temple, Evansville, Indiana, in about September, 1950, but has been unable to secure sufficient members over the years for his temple to be designated as a Mosque. WHITE, better known as LINSTON X, is a close friend of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD at Chicago.
- 9. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BELL, a Negro male, born 7/30/34, Columbus, Mississippi, resides 1650 North Broadway, Indianapolis, Indiana, and is employed as the Director of the College Room, 1820 North College Avenue, Indianapolis. BELL is treasurer of the Radical Action Project (RAP).
- 10. CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS, a Negro male, born 8/27/31, Indianapolis, Indiana, resides at 3404 Oxford Street, same city. He is presently employed with Forward, Inc., Indianapolis, and is in charge of obtaining employment for Negroes associated with the College Room and/or RAP. In addition, HENDRICKS is in charge of the Board of Directors of the RAP organization.

- 11. EGBERT ADDISON, a Negro male and former law student at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana, is presently instrumental in attempting to organize a Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Gary, Indiana. ADDISON has been in contact with members of SNCC in Chicago, Illinois, because he wants to establish a local chapter of SNCC at Gary and ADDISON was known to have made arrangements to have STOKELY CARMICHAEL to speak in Gary on 3/24/68. On that occasion, CARMICHAEL did speak at 2159 Broadway, Gary, from about 10:45 PM to midnight, which speech was attended by some 75 persons.
- 3. The Indianapolis Office at present, has no known organizations or individuals to be considered potentially dangerous for counterintelligence action.
- 4. The Indianapolis Office has no suggestions for the overall counterintelligence action or the administration of this program at this point. Any suggestions for any specific target will be submitted to the Bureau by separate letter under the appropriate caption.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GEA PHIN (A. CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

DATE: April 23, 1968

FROM

Director, FBI (157-8415-21)

PERSONAL TENTION

SUBJECT:

BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

INDIANAPOLIS DIVISION

The Bureau has reviewed black nationalist activities in your division and has these observations:

Beyond the established Nation of Islam (NOI) Mosques, in the division there is a growing black nationalist movement. The Radical Action Project (RAP) was established in the Fall of 1967, and black power advocates have taken over the group. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has established a chapter. An Afro-American Student Association (AASA) has been formed at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, and another group is being formed at the University of Notre Dame.

One member of the RAP was reportedly looking for someone to teach members the use of firearms and Molotov cocktails. You should insure that the activities of RAP and AASA are known in sufficient detail that any shift toward a militant, pro-violence attitude will be apparent. Any such shift should cause you to immediately initiate a thorough investigation of the group. Bureau authority is, of course, required to investigate organizations affiliated with colleges.

Agents assigned to racial matters should be aware of the constantly shifting nature of black nationalist groups, the tendency of extremists to influence these organizations, and the growing militancy of black nationalist groups generally. Early investigation of these groups, including aggressive interviews of members, is extremely valuable.

In your investigation of extremist groups and militant black nationalist individuals, you should consider the use of all investigative techniques, requesting Bureau

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Letter SAC, Indianapolis
Re: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
157-8415-21

authority where required. Bank accounts should be located and monitored; tax returns should be requested; review of telephone toll calls should be considered; check of passport records on leaders should be made; and, where justified, use of confidential techniques should be considered. These techniques should complement exhaustive efforts to develop quality-live informant coverage.

Sufficient manpower must be assigned to insure you are fully aware of the black nationalist situation in your territory and that all pertinent developments are promptly brought to the Bureau's attention.

Director, FBI (100-448006)

6/4/68

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Succinct Summary of Black Nationalist Movement in Indianapolis Division

### A. Nation of Islam (NOI)

The NOI remains the largest black nationalist organization within the Indianapolis Division with an approximated total membership ranging from 196 to 222. The seven groups of the NOI organization still remain at Muhammad's Temple #31, South Bend; Muhammad's Mosque, Indianapolis; Muhammad's Temple, East Chicago; Muhammad's Temple, Evansville; Muhammad's Mosques at Fort Wayne and Muncie, Indiana. latter two newer groups only engage in holding weekly meetings where very few are in attendance at their Sunday afternoon meetings. All of the groups are led by ministers and they receive their direction from NOI Headquarters at Chicago, Illinois, and they adhere to the teachings of their leader. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. None of these groups have proposed any violence but they still preach separation of the races and belittle the white man and their hatred theme could propose problems or violence, if taken right by their membership, hence violence could erupt under certain circumstances.

## 1. Operations Under Consideration

Radical Action Project (RAP) Indianapolis, Indiana

Interviews have been conducted with MARCUS STEWART, Editor of The Indianapolis Recorder, a local Negro newspaper, and GERALD CUNNINGHAM, a Negro member of the Board of Safety, Indianapolis, Indiana during the current period and they have

2 - Bureau (RM) 1 - Indianapolis

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been urged to exert their influence on the younger and more militant members of R.A.P. to get them to channelize their efforts for employment and other needs through a commission that has been established by the Mayor of Indianapolis.

## 2. Operations Being Effected

Several contacts have been made with Reverend JOHN E. STEEG, JR., President of Forward, Inc., an organization in Indianapolis which has as its purpose to bring the power-packed love of Jesus Christ to bear in a realistic, problem-solving way against the hate-creating and devisive evils of racial prejudice and poverty.

Through efforts with STEEG, leaders of R.A.P., namely, CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS and RONALD E. MC INTOSH are both employed by Forward, Inc. and have been sponsored by STEEG and Forward, Inc. making it possible for them to attend conferences in other cities where positive results have been obtained. These results have been in the changing of lives of both criminal and racial leaders making them productive and valuable citizens. Also in hopes of making the leaders of R.A.P. future citizens of value, it has kept the leaders out of town and has helped to hinder the possible consolidation and uniting of racial groups and persons under control of those leaders.

## 3. Tangible Results

To date no racial incidents have occurred in Indianapolis, Indiana and leaders have not been able to spend enough time in uniting the Negroes and thus have not been able to establish a large enough following to create any major problems.

## 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Other than above, this office has no further developments to report at this time.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

10/9/68

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Succinct Summary of Black Nationalist Movement in Indianapolis Diviston

### A. Nation of Islam (NOI)

The NOI has an approximate total membership of slightly over 200 in the Indianapolis Division. There is a total of seven temples or mosques that remain active in the Indianapolis Division. The mosque at Gary, Indiana, with about 40 members, the mosque in Indianapolis with approximately 30 members, and the mosque in South Bend, Indiana, with 100 to 125 members are the largest mosques active in Indiana. The two newest mosques at Fort Wayne and Muncie, Indiana, are still struggling with only the initial four or five members with which they started and have a minimum of activity. The other two mosques in Indiana at Evansville and East Chicago, Indiana, remain relatively stable with six to ten members each.

All of the groups in Indiana are led by ministers who receive their instruction from NOI Headquarters in Chicago, Illinois, and adhere to teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, their leader. None of the groups have proposed violence to date, but their hatred for the white man under the right circumstances could cause violence to erupt.

## B. Radical Action Project (RAP)

RAP is a black militant organization formed originally in the fall of 1967 and in early winter or spring, 1968, became a totally Negro organization, with a sixteen member board of directors. CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS, remains the Director or Chairman of RAP. RAP now has new

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headquarters located at 2264 North Meridian, Indianapolis, Indiana, and is the most active and the largest black militant influence in Indianapolis. All known activities of RAP to date have been to handle problems within the framework of the existing law and no violence has been attributed to RAP to this date. RONALD EUGENE MC INTOSH, board member of RAP, has separated himself from RAP and now is running his own community center. In addition, BENJAMIN F. BELL has gradually had less and less to do with RAP and maintains his own group at the College Room, 1810 North College, of which he is director.

## C. Afro-American Student Association

A group which calls itself the Afro, Afro-American Student Association (AAASA) was formed in the second semester of the 1967-1968 academic year at Indiana University (IU), Bloomington, Indiana. During that semester there was very little activity taking place other than attempting to organize and making a demand to the University president that a Negro be placed on the University's Racial Problem Committee, which demand was met. The group is again organizing on the IU campus and all activities will be followed. A similar group has been formed this fall semester at Notre Dame, in South Bend, Indiana. At this date, there has been minimal activity, but Indianapolis Division will continue to follow their activity.

## 1. Operations under Consideration

Plans to interview all of the most active members of the Black Nationalist groups are continuing.

## 2. Operations Being Effected

Contact with Reverend JOHN E. STEEG, JR., President of Forward, Inc., has been maintained. Through contact with him funds being furnished to CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS, Chairman of RAP, have been cut off. STEEG has maintained his affiliation with RONALD EUGENE MC INTOSH and he has helped MC INTOSH to establish his own community center called Black Unity Development Center (Bud's Center), 2020 North Tacoma, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Though the Negroes have been trying to unite the leaders of RAP, HENDRICKS, MC INTOSH and BENJAMIN

BELL all now have their own groups and actually are becoming further apart, thereby having the opposite effect of uniting the Negroes in Indianapolis.

Contacts with local black power leaders and keeping them informed of the Bureau's responsibility in civil rights cases has also helped to keep the black power element friendly to the Bureau although they are not with the Indianapolis Police Department

## 3. Tangible Results

There have been no racial incidents in Indianapolis, Indiana, to date and the splitting up of the black power leaders has had an effect of neutralizing their power and influence on the Negro population of Indianapolis. By being split rather than united, the leaders have been unable to get a large enough following to create any major disturbance.

## 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Through conversations with the various leaders of the black power groups it has been evident that there exists a jealousy between the different groups and leaders. Each leader resents any success that another leader or group has. In these conversations these jealousies of the leaders have been fanned in a way such that it has increased the anamosity between the leaders and groups, thereby helping to keep the black power element divided among themselves.

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, Albany DATE: 8/5/68

Director, FBI (100-448006)

and the

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

The Bureau wants to bring a highly successful counterintelligence operation to the attention of all counterintelligence offices, so that all offices will be aware of the type of results that can be obtained in this program.

The Miami Division developed a source at a local television station and the source produced a news special on black nationalists and on the New Left. Miami requested Bureau authority to furnish the source background data of a public source nature when the source indicated an interest in producing a show exposing these groups.

- 2 Atlanta
- 2 Baltimore
- 2 Birmingham
- 2 Boston
- 2 Buffalo
- 2 Charlotte
- 2 Chicago
- 2 Cincinnati
- 2 Columbia
- 2 Cleveland
- 2 Denver
- 2 Detroit
- Houston
- Indianapolis
- Jackson
- 2 Jacksonville
- 2 Kansas City:
- 2 Los Angeles
- 2 Memphis
- 2 Miami
- 2 Milwaukee

- 2 Minneapolis
- 2 Mobile
- 2 Newark
- 2 New Haven
- 2 New Orleans
- 2 New York
- 2 Omaha
- 2 Philadelphia
- 2 - Phoenix
- 2 - Pittsburgh
- 2 Portland
- Richmond
- 2 - Sacramento
- San Diego
- San Francisco
- 2 Seattle
- 2 - Springfield
- 2 St. Louis
- 2 Tampa
- 2 WFO



Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

The Bureau authorized furnishing the source data on a confidential basis and the show appeared 7/7/68. A great deal of research was done by Miami Agents and it resulted in an excellent program. The show, which ended with quotes from the Director on the nature of the New Left, was so well received that the television station received requests for a film of the show by local civic groups.

As you are aware publicity about New Left and black nationalist groups, especially television coverage, sometimes enhances the stature of these groups. At the same time, Miami has demonstrated that a carefully planned television show can be extremely effective in showing these extremists for what they are. Local New Left and black nationalist leaders were interviewed on the show and seemed to have been chosen for either their inability to articulate or their simpering and stupid appearance.

Miami furnished a film of this show for Bureau review and it was apparent that the television source used the very best judgment in editing comments by these extremists. He brought out that they were in favor of violent revolution without their explaining why. But he also brought out that they, personally, would be afraid to lead a violent revolution, making them appear to be cowards. The interview of black nationalist leaders on the show had the leaders seated, ill at ease, in hard chairs. Full-length camera shots showed each movement as they squirmed about in their chairs, resembling rats trapped under scientific observation.

Each counterintelligence office should be alert to exploit this technique both for black nationalists and New Left types. Miami learned from sources that those who appeared on the show realized that it presented them in a most unfavorable light. One even complained to the television station about it. This counterintelligence operation will be of great value in the South Florida area

Letter to SAC, Albany

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

100-448006

and the Bureau hopes these results can be duplicated in other offices. Success in this case resulted from hard work and acumen on the part of the Agents who handled the matter. Especially important was the choice of individuals interviewed as they did not have the ability to stand up to a professional newsman. The fine job of interviewing and editing done by the news people involved was also most important.

Each office should be alert to the possibility of using this technique. No counterintelligence action should be taken without Bureau authority. For your information operations of this type must be handled through reliable, established sources and must be set up so that the FBI is not revealed as the source.

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#### (Copies to effices Checked)

TO:	SA	

Albany Albuquerque Anchoroge Atlonto Boltimore Birmingham Boston Buffolo Butte Chorlotte Chicogo Cincinnati Clevelond Columbio Dallas Denver Detroit El Poso Honoluly	Houston Indianopolis Jockson Jocksonville Kansas City Knoxville Las Vegos Little Rock Los Angelee Louisville Memphie Milwoukee Minneopolls Mobile Nework New Hoven New Orleams	Norfolk Oklahoma City Omoho Philodelphia Phoenix Pitteburgh Portlond Richmond Socramento St. Louis Solt Loke City San Antonio Son Diego Son Froncisco Son Juan Sovonnah Seottle Springfield	Tompo Washington Field Quontico  TO LEGAT: Bern Bonn Buenos Aires Hong Kong London Monila Mexico, D.F. Ottawo Poris Rome Sonto Domingo Tokyo
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Remarks:

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# Memorandum

ro : SAC, Baltimore

DATE:

11/25/68

XXXIII

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

(BUDED 12/2/68)

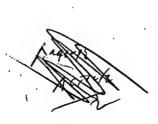
For the information of recipient offices a serious struggle is taking place between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the US organization. The struggle has reached such proportions that it is taking on the aura of gang warfare with attendant threats of murder and reprisals.

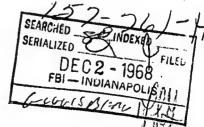
In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP.

Commencing December 2, 1968, and every two-week period thereafter, each office is instructed to submit a letter under this caption containing counterintelligence measures aimed against the BPP. The bi-weekly letter should also contain accomplishments obtained during the previous two-week period under captioned program.

All counterintelligence actions must be approved at the Bureau prior to taking steps to implement them.

- 2 Boston
- 2 Chicago
- 2 Cleveland
- 2 Denver
- 2 Indianapolis
- 2 Los Angeles
- 2 Newark
- 2 New York
- 2 Omaha
- 2 Sacramento
- 2 San Diego
- 2 San Francisco
- 2 Seattle







DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Bureau letter to Baltimore, 11/25/68.

Indianapolis has no US organization but it does have a chapter of the Black Panther Party. In addition, to Black Panther Party, Indianapolis has several other black organizations involved in rivalry with the Black Panther Party.

Rivalry at this time has been principally in two areas. The first area is attempting to get the limelight and publicity in news media with the newspaper and television. The other area in which rivalry is the strongest is involving finances. Each organization is attempting to obtain funds from the black community. and from white businessmen. Funds have been collected by these groups for certain purposes which supposedly were for the good of the black community. It has been learned from informants that these funds have not been used for the purposes for which they were originally collected. In most instances, these funds disappear into the hands of the leaders for their own desire. This has come to the attention of several informants and the informants have discussed this with other members and this has had an affect of causing dissention among the organizations. This method has helped to cripple several local organizations and now is seemingly having an affect in the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis. Many members are unhappy with the leaders of the Black Panther Party and as a result membership is dropping sharply rather than increasing. One of the most active members, the Minister of Defense of the Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party, has turned in his resignation as a result of this matter.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Indianapolis

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IP 157-761

Also, the Indianapolis Division, during interviews with individuals of the different black organizations, has dwelled on differences of opinion, etc., increasing the jealousy between leaders for attention and thus has caused these groups to become further separated. In Indianapolis to date, these organizations including the Black Panther Party, have become further separated and have been unable to unite themselves or the black community.

Letters concerning Counterintelligence Program will be submitted on two weeks interval period from the date of this letter.

#### 12/11/68

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

ReBuairtel to AL 12/6/68.

Indianapolis Division to date has had no major racial violence. Photographs of sniping attacks on police; photographs of arsenals or black extremists engaged in military-type drill are not available. Any that might be received in the future will be submitted to the Bureau for their use.

3 - Bureau (RM)
(1) - Indianapolis

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Airtel to SAC, Albany COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, (VISUAL AIDS) 100-448006

to receive, under this caption, visual material relating to violence by black extremists. Photographs of scenes of racial violence, sniping attacks on police such as those at the Cleveland, Ohio, riot this year, photographs of arsenals of black extremists, and of black extremists engaged in military-type drill, are needed. Diagrams of explosive and sabotage devices and booby traps that are being circulated among black extremists are also desired.

By return airtel under this caption, each office should furnish any available material not previously furnished the Bureau or advise no such material is available. Photographs furnished should be clear, glossy, 8" X 10" photographs, if available, and only one copy of each item submitted is needed. Material submitted will not be returned so any item that is needed by the field should be copied for submission to the Bureau.

Thereafter, as items of interest are received, they should be submitted to the Bureau under this caption on a continuing basis so that the Eureau can have the benefit of new material that would be useful for visual aid purposes.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

12/16/68

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re IP letter to Director, 12/2/68.

The Black Panther Party and other black organizations in Indianapolis continue to battle for publicity and money among the black community. At this time in the Black Panther Party. dissention is continuing over the misuse of funds, and enough members have quit at this time that they are now becoming what appears to be a defeated organization in Indianapolis, Indiana. They at present are facing a rapid decline in the total number of members and also the number of apparent active members is decreasing. At the past two public meetings where they were attempting to draw new members and support they had only ten to fifteen persons present at both meetings and those present were the officers of the Black Panther Party and the only active members. The BPP at present is not enjoying any support from the majority of the black community and the word is spreading of the misuse of the funds as well as the gifts and food collected by the Black Panther Party which never reached the needy for whom they were intended.

Measures taken to increase the speed with which the BPP seems to be declining in Indianapolis have been through interviews with members of the Negro community at which time mention is made of the facts concerning the food and money misused by the leaders of the BPP serving to help the whole Negro community to learn of this. In addition to the above, informants are used in attempts to help maintain dissention within the BPP and the other black organizations.

2 - Bureau (RM) 1 - Indianapolis

LLG/ndv (3) 152-761-18

NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 45

IP 157-761

In view of the fact that the BPP in Indianapolis is declining so rapidly at this time through much fault of its own, no other counterintelligence measures are deemed necessary at this time. It is felt by informants that the BPP if it continues to go in its present direction will be virtually dead in Indianapolis in a matter of months. The number of active members has dropped to approximately one-third of the number they had less than two months ago.

12/30/68

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis let to Director 12/16/68.

The Black Panther Party in Indianapolis had their headquarters located at 113 West 30th Street raided on 12/18/68 by members of the Indianapolis Police Department and the Alcohol Tobacco Tax Unit of the U. S. Treasury Department. The IPD and ATTU were attempting to put in affect a Federal search warrant based upon information developed by the IPD that one or more machineguns were in BPP headquarters. Two BPP members who were in the building denied officers entrance and guarded the front door with a shotgun. IPD then used teargas to gain entrance to the building and arrested the two Panther members as they came out of the building.

The above search failed to turn up any automatic weapons and has only served to at least temporarily unite the BPP in Indianapolis and to disrupt the measures taken to date to split up the BPP in Indianapolis. Efforts to talk to other Black Nationalist leaders in Indianapolis and to further cause dissension among the black organizations and the BPP will be continued.

In addition, HARRY BLACKWELL, who was assistant deputy chairman, BPP in Indianapolis, was arrested by the IPD on 12/29/68 on warrant for uttering a forged instrument. BLACKWELL, who had been in hiding and previously was unavailable for interview, will be interviewed.

2-Bureau (RM) 1-Indianapolis LLG/sjr (3)

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The deepening schisting ithin the Negro community over tactics of goals, gleefully fastered and distorted by insensitive and irresponsible news media, is headed toward a major internal crisis requiring each of us to stand up and be counted. Differences among black folk in this country are not new, but a new ingredient has been added—the attempt by a small minority of black extremists to force compliance with its views and tactics. This nihilistic minority professes disdain for all "white" values while at the same time invoking and utilizing, as instruments of controversy, the worst practices of the most benighted stratum of white society, to wit, obscene name-calling, threats, intimidation, suppression of opposing views and violence.

The emergence of this swaggering band of black extremists demanding abandanment of democratic methods and goals and a reversal of the trend toward integration must be met head-an by the vast majority of Negroes who reject the minority's tactics and goals. To be sure, the new mood has been generated by white America's historic racism. In turn, the new black mood nurtures further white racism.

Campaigning in New York City last month, Senator Edmund S. Muskie, the Democratic naminee for 'Vice President, challenged responsible people of both races to speak up. "We must break through the terrible cycle of action and reaction, assault and caunter-assault, hatred and response to hatred," he said.

"The only way to break this vicious cycle," Senator Muskie continued, "is for the moderates in both communities to cope with the merchants of hate and violence within their own ranks. To date, the moderates—both black and white—have been too silent."

On our part, as on the part of white folk, there is urgent need far strong and unequivocal re-affirmation of our commitment to the democratic processes as a means of attaining, here in our homeland, full, equal and unfettered rights for America's 22,000,000 black folk. This means a repudiation of the nihilism of the extremists who are shrilly and insistently espousing apartheid; racism, including anti-Semitism; intimidation and violence.

Most fatuous of the extremists' exhartations is the call for "black revolution"—the seizure of power by the Negra minority. Any revolution remotely possible in this country at this time would not be one that advances the position and cause of Negroes. Rather it would be a revolution of the Right suppressing not only the black community but also curtailing the basic liberties of the total society.

Repeated surveys and polls by reputable and impartial opinion testers show that this minority misrepresents the true views and ospirations of the majority of the nation's Negro population. A September, 1968, survey by the Columbia Broadcasting System found that the "great majority of Negroes still want integration and want to achieve equality through legal means. Only a very small minority of Negroes approve af violent tactics, nine out of ten in the survey expressing disapproval of violence to ochieve equality."

Notwithstanding the evidence that the Negro masses remain committed to the program and tactics which have brought substantial gains in the struggle for equality, the voices within the Negro community which publicly express this majority view have been few and, often, lonely. Partly this has been because of a tendency on the part of the news media to by-pass spokesmen for the majority and to project the minority spokesmen as the authentic voices of the Negro community. There is the additional factor that responsible leaders who speak out against the extremists have been subjected to threats of violence. Mareover, Negro leaders have traditionally been reluctant to speak out publicly in opposition to other black spokesmen.

But the time has come for speaking out loud and clear lest the entire race be branded as hate-mongers, segregationists, advocates of violence, and worse. The silent majority must let its views be known not merely in polls but also in print, on the restrum, and via radio and television. The time for silence or muted voices is past. The extremists must be answered promptly and forthrightly in the name of the majority. Their racism and anti-Semitism DocId: 59167388 Page 48

Magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The Crisis November, 1968

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condemned and repudiated. The infantilism of their "governments-in-exile" exposed and scorned. Their advocacy of Jim Crowism include as retror suicidal call for violence disavowed.

In a message to the founding conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909, William Lloyd Garrison expressed the hope "that the Conference will utter no uncertain sound on any point affecting the vital subject. No part of it is too delicate for plain speech."

So it is today. Let there be "no uncertain sound" on the issue confronting us. To make the record clear, let us repeat again and again so that none need be unaware of the Truth: Black America rejects and condemns separation, racism, intimidation, suppression of free speech, and violence. Let it be known that the preachers of hate, the defeatists ofraid to compete in the open market, the name callers who substitute epithets and slogans for reason, the exhapters who summon Regro youth to deoth in , futile shoot-outs with the police and the military—let it be known that these media-created "leaders" are not our spokesmen.

Dissent, protest and militancy, yes. Intimidation, disruption, suppression of free speech, extremism and violence, no!

The time to speak up in no uncertain terms, to rally the silent black majority to a constructive program of responsible militancy and resistance to extremism, is now. Tomorrow may be too late.

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	To: SAC, Albany	
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	COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM	
	BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS	•
	RACIAL INTELLIGENCE	
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 Airtel to SAC, Albany COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS 100-448006

from "The Crisis," magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This article condemns black nationalist extremists and is one of the first such condemnations by a responsible civil rights organization. The article received some notice in the regular press when it was published.

The Bureau feels this article may be of use in contacting potential sources, to show how responsible Negroes reject violence in racial matters. The article may also be of counterintelligence use. For example, in cases where we might want to alert an individual or organization to the extremist nature of some black nationalist group, we might also want to use the editorial to justify opposing extremists.

Any suggestions for counterintelligence use of the enclosed article should be submitted to the Bureau for approval. The article may be used as necessary in contacts with racial sources or potential sources.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

1/13/69

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re IP	letter to	Bureau 12	/30/68.	
		FOIA(b)(7	) - (D)	
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According to FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

where they were joined by eight more individuals from FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D) stated they traveled to Oakland in a blue 1967 Oldsmobile which is normally driven by PATTON, but FOIA(b)(7) - (D) stated PATTON

/is not the owner and he does not know who does own the car.

2 - Bureau (RM) 1 - Indianapolis

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12:

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D) and another source indicate a friction beginning to exist in the BPP in Indianapolis, as well as with other groups in Indianapolis. They indicate that CRAWFORD may be resigning soon, and advise that PATTON, the Minister of Defense, is now doing all the talking and appears to be running the BPP in Indianapolis. The BPP in Indianapolis also continues to suffer from a lack of funds, and all attempts to use sources in BPP to increase dissention are being utilized.

1/15/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in Indianapolis Division:

## A. Nation of Islam (NOI)

The NOI has noticed an appreciable drop in total attendance in the Indianapolis Division, with a total of about 140 to 145 persons attending meetings. Responsible for the drop in attendance is the South Bend mosque which before had 100 to 125 persons, and which now has been having only 50 persons in attendance.

There are seven cities in the Indianapolis Division with temples or mosques and they are Evansville, Fort Wayne, Muncie, Gary, Indianapolis, East Chicago and South Bend. Evansville, East Chicago, Fort Wayne and Muncie are all struggling with only four to six members. Muncie no longer has a place to meet which adds to their existing struggle. Indianapolis had 27 members and Gary has about 45 members at present. The only two mosques are #31 in South Bend and #33 in Gary, Indiana.

The NOI groups in the Indianapolis Division have not caused or planned any violence to date, but the possibility for such is always present. The ministers of the groups in Indiana received their instructions from NOI headquarters in Chicago, Illinois and adhere to the teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, their leader.

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#### IP 157-761

## B. Radical Action Project (RAP)

RAP, also known as Black Radical Action Project (BRAP). continues to operate in Indianapolis and are now at a new location, 2264 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis. The chairman of RAP continues to be CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS, a Negro male, born 8/27/31 at Indianapolis, Indiana. RAP has received several grants or funds from various church and civic organizations and is presently the most financially sound group in the Indianapolis RAP has used their funds primarily to belp the black community to date by giving toys to children at Christmas, food at Thanksgiving, and helping to pay defense attorney fees for various Negro persons who have been arrested. In addition, their funds help to keep HENDRICKS and the other leaders of RAP financially well endowed. WILLIAM A. CRAWFORD, Negro, male, born 1/28/36, is second in charge of RAP. RAP also runs an Afro-American Book Store and Art Shop, which is on the first floor underneath RAP headquarters, which is on the second floor. CRAWFORD is in charge of the book store. The book store also helps to aid RAP financially.

RAP to date has operated within the framework of the law and no violence has been attributed to them. As long as they continue to have funds, it is felt that they do not pose a threat of violence; however, should this change, a given incident might change their present attitude. The size of their organization at present is approximately 20 persons at most who are considered active.

# C. Black Panther Party - Indianapolis Chapter (BPP)

The BPP is located at 113 West 30th Street,
Indianapolis, Indiana, and as of the last several months has been
the most active organization in Indianapolis. The BPP initially
had a large following when they began in about Coctober, 1968,
but now have only about 10 to 20 persons who are active. There
has been dissention among the leaders since its inception with
the former Minister of Defense leaving the organization. The
present chairman of the BPP is FRED CRAWFORD, Negro male, born
FOIA(b)(6) CRAWFORD has no arrest record and is a brother to
WILLIAM A. CRAWFORD who is affiliated with RAP, mentioned above.

#### IP 157-761

The present Minister of Defense is STANFORD PATTON, JR., Negro male, born 5/9/38, who attended Tennessee A & I State University for two quarters in 1956-1957. PATTON is presently the spokesman for the BPP in Indianapolis and from all appearances seems to be taking over control, with CRAWFORD moving into the background. All activities of the BPP have been followed by letter sent every other week.

## D. Afro, Afro-American Student Association (AAASA)

The Afro, Afro-American Student Association, at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, was formed during the first semester of the 1968-69 academic year, with ROBERT JOHNSON as the organizer. JOHNSON writes articles for the IU "Spectator", weekly newspaper of Indiana University, but does not write concerning the AAASA. The organization has had meetings but has not proposed any demonstrations or made any demands on the university. A similar group formed in South Bend, Indiana, also has very limited activity. They proposed a picket line and demonstration to be held at the UCLA vs. Notre Dame basketball game, which was nationally televised; however, school authorities stated that they could demonstrate in the lobby only and not on the court where the television cameras were or they would be arrested. The group, therefore, did not proceed with the demonstration as they could not get in front of the cameras which was what they wanted.

# 1. Operations under Consideration

Plans under consideration at this time include continuation of interviewing the active members of the various organizations and, in addition, to try to continue to promote the jealousies and differences of opinion of the various groups and leaders through informants and interviews.

#### 2. Operations Being Affected

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Other operations have included encouraging the jealousy between the BPP and the other various groups, as the BPP was rapidly gaining popularity. The Negro community was made aware, however, of the misuse of these funds by the BPP through informants and other groups and, therefore, their membership has fallen from over 200 persons to about 15 active members which they now have.

#### 3. Tangible Results

Despite the fact that Indianapolis has about a 25 per cent Negro population, the fact exists that the various Negro organizations have not united to date and no major disturbances have taken place.

# 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

In interviewing various members of the different organizations, successes of their competition are pointed out in a way so that they become more jealous of their brothers in the other black organizations. Using informants in this manner has also helped to add to the animosity between the various groups and has served to further help keep the groups from uniting.

1/27/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 1/13/69.

The Black Panther Party in Indianapolis, Indiana, continues to operate from their location at 113 West 30th Street, and Informant FOIA(b)(7) - (D) has been encouraged
to advance in the organization.
FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Other counterintelligence measures taken have been to makekknown to the Negro community, and the other Negro organizations, any arrests of BPP members, thereby helping them to see the kind of things the BPP is involved in. Also, arrests all over the United States involving BPP members, and the type of incidents where the BPP is involved in shootings with the police, are being made known. This is being done so that the other Negro organizations who are trying to help the Negro better himself can see how the BPP could jeopardize the work that they have done, and this in turn is hoped will cause dissension between the BPP and the other Negro organizations. To date jealousies between the BPP and the other organizations has been observed, but how far it extends cannot yet be determined.

2 - Bureau(RM)
1) - Indianapolis

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# **TUNITED STATES GOVERNMENT** Memoranaum

TO : SAC, Albany

DATE: 1/30/69

: Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBulet to Baltimore dated 11/25/68.

For the information of those offices which were not in receipt of referenced letter, instructions contained therein placed a requirement upon those offices to submit a letter to the Bureau under the counterintelligence caption every two weeks. The biweekly letter consists of proposed counterintelligence measures aimed against the BPP and accomplishments obtained during the previous two-week period. This requirement is now being extended to additional offices which have pending cases on the BPP. Those offices listed below which do not have pending BPP cases should so advise the Bureau.

For the information of all recipient offices, the BPP has publicly embarked on a series of steps designed to create a new and better image of itself. As part of this program, Bobby Seale, BPP chairman, has announced he is conducting a purge of the party. This purge includes expelling "Police agents" (police informants) from the BPP. Furthermore, a San Francisco informant has advised that BPP leaders are talking about "cooling it" for a while because of unfavorable press and fear of informers.

2 - Minneapolis 2 - Atlanta 2 - Boston 2 - Newark 2 - Buffalo 2 - New Haven 2 - New York City 2 - Charlotte 2 - Chicago 2 - Oklahoma City 2 - Denver 2 - Omaha 2 - Detroit 2 - Phoenix 2 - Sacramento - Houston )- Indianapolis 2 - San Diego 2 - San Francisco 2 - Kansas City

2 - Seattle 2 - Los Angeles 2 - Milwaukee

2 - Washington Field Office

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

2/28/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in Indianapolis Division:

# A. Nation of Islam (NOI)

Since the last letter the NOI of the Indianapolis Office has remained fairly stable in membership neither gaining nor losing an appreciable amount of members. The NOI has approximately 140 persons attending meetings, at a total of seven temples or mosques. There are two mosques which are located in South Bend and Gary, Indiana, mosques number 31 and 33 respectively. South Bend remains the largest with about 50 members, Gary having about 45 members. There are temples located at Evansville, Fort Wayne, Muncie, Indianapolis, and East Chicago, Indiana, which continue to struggle for existence.

No violence had been caused or proposed by members of the NOI in the Indianapolis Division, however the possibility always is present. All of the groups in Indiana adhere to the teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, their leader.

# B. Radical Action Project (RAP)

RAP, also called BRAP for Black Radical Action Project, continues to operate at their headquarters located at 2264 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis. The Chairman of RAP is CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS, and the bookstore operated and owned by RAP is managed by WILLIAM A. CRAWFORD.

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2/28/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

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2/28/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

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CRAWFORD is brother to FRED CRAWFORD, Chairman of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis. In February or March, 1968, RAP received a grant from the Episcopal Church in New York City for \$47,000.00. The payments were made to RAP in quarterly payments with the last payment being received 1/31/69, for \$11,840.00 which was deposited in their account. At present it is not known if they will receive funds from some other source after the above has been spent or if the organization will be closed down for lack of funds. The bookstore owned by RAP is not yet making a profit and able to stand in on its own, but requires funds from RAP to help it to continue to operate, so they will not be able to rely on it for funds.

RAP has been operating legally in the past and has tried to establish Negro owned businesses and help Negroes to find employment. They also have taken a strong position in opposition to police harassment and brutality and frequently approach the police department with complaints when any member of any of the black organizations is arrested. Estimated membership is about twenty active members. RAP has not been considered to pose a threat of violence to the community but if their funds stop they may become a possible threat.

# C. Black Panther Party (BPP)

The BPP is the most active organization, or has been in the past several months, operating from their headquarters at 113 West 30th Street, Indianapolis. The Chairman of the BPP in Indianapolis is FRED CRAWFORD, Minister of Defense is STANFORD PATTON, JR., Minister of Information, JOSEPH MARTIN, Minister of Health is DONALD H. CAMPBELL, and Minister of Finance is LAWRENCE ROBERTS. They presently have between fifteen and twenty active members with about fifty persons who are reportedly connected with the BPP. PATTON, has been the spokesman for the group most of the time, however both MARTIN and CAMPBELL have been doing more speaking for the BPP in recent weeks. CRAWFORD has had less to say but still is apparently in charge.

In the last two weeks the BPP has been concentrating on two high schools in Indianapolis with predominantly or almost total Negro students in attempts to get them to strike. They have been unsuccessful in their attempts but they have on several occasions possibly had a part in getting the students and faculty stirred up by passing out literature, and asking to speak to the students.

All activities of the BPP are followed in a bi-weekly letter.

## D. Afro-American Student Association (AAASA)

The Afro-American Student Association continues to exist at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, and at Notre Dame University, South Bend, Indiana. However the organization has not engaged in any activities at either university since last letter. They have made no demands of the universities or issued any statements as an organization since last letter. These groups are being followed closely in the event they do become active.

## 1. Operations Under Consideration

Plans to interview all members of black extremist organizations even though they are not active are being considered, which it is felt may produce information of value and possibly help in the development of informants. Prior to this only active members have been considered for interview. It is felt that this also may particularly effect the BPP in driving some of the more inactive members away and causing the BPP leaders some fear.

# 2. Operations Being Effected

Attempts to interview active members of the BPP have been made in addition to active members of the other black extremist organizations. Through these interviews with other groups valuable information has been gained even though the person being interviewed did not know he was furnishing information of value.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

AII

possibilities to use informants to gain information leading to arrest of members is being utilized as well as in any other areas of counterintelligence.

# 3. Tangible Results

The black extremist groups in the Indianapolis Division to date have not been united or have not become sufficiently strong to cause any major incidents or disturbances. Although the possibility is ever present no violence has been encountered from these groups.

## 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None, other than the development of informant who was officer of the BPP through interview as mentioned above.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

2/24/69

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re IP letter to Bureau 2/10/69.

The Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party has been attempting to cause the students at Crispus Attucks High School in Indianapolis to strike, as was the aim of the National BPP which was made known recently. FOIA(b)(7) - (D) became aware of the fact that the BPP in Indianapolis was going to pass out literature at the high school. They also intended to have one of the BPP members go to the high school on the pretext that he was interested in night school. They had him wear the BPP uniform, thinking that he would not be permitted even to enter the high school; they then would have some issue to bring up and might be able to start some kind of an incident. The local police were made aware of these plans as well as the Principal of Crispus Attucks High School. As a result, the members passing out the literature were requested to leave the building as they could not pass out literature in the school building. BPP members left with the exception of four, who were students at Crispus Attucks High School, who continued to pass out literature after being advised not to do so by the principal. These students were then expelled from school. police who were present at the high school most of the week of 2/17-21/69, allowed BPP member to approach the school and enter to inquire about night school without bothering him, and the plans of the BPP to start some sort of incident by this means were foiled.

Further possibilities to disrupt plans of the BPP if possible will be watched for in the <u>future</u> and possibilities for counterintelligence action will be considered.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Indianapolis

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3/10/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau dated 2/24/69.

In April, 1968 through June, 1968 several individuals formed a group in Indianapolis, Indiana, and called themselves the Black Panthers, although they were not affiliated in any way with the nationally known Black Panther Party. In June. 1968 they were arrested when attempting to burglarize the U. S. Marine Corps Reserve Training Center, in Indianapolis an attempt to obtain weapons. Since that arrest however, the Black Panther Party Chapter in Indianapolis affiliated... with national organization was formed. It has supported the individuals arrested and had several fund raising projects to obtain funds for their defense. Last week, in March, 1969, FBI agents testified in local case against individuals who were arrested last June, and in addition a former informant of the Indianapolis Office testified. persons have been in jail since June, 1968, and two were found guilty of burglary, and sentenced two to fourteen years, as a result of informant's and agents testifying. In addition to the burglary charge the subjects were acquitted on a conspiracy to commit murder charge in which they had discussed possible plans to murder the chief of police in Indianapolis, and another officer of the Indianapolis Police Department.

Further possibilities to disrupt BPP activities and plans through informants and possible arrest by local authorities will be watched for, and utilized whenever possible.

2 - Bureau (RM)
- Indianapolis
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# Diack Panther Party

CE ITRAL HEADQUARTERS

EMERYVILLE BRANCH . OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA P. O. BOX 8641 . 845-0103; (45-0104; 621-5255; 921-3860

CENTRAL COMMITTEE	845-0103;	145-0104; 621-5255;	921-3860	
Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON	BLACK	PANTHER PARTY CHAPTERS A	AND BRANCHES	
Chairman BOBBY SEALE	East Oakland	7304 73rd Ave.	568-3334	Robert Bay,
Minister of Information ELDRIDGE CLEAVER				Landon Willi:
National Hdq. Captain DAVID HILLIARD	San Francisco	1136 Fillmore	921-3860	. Randy William
Field Marshels UNDERGROUND	Sacramento	2941 -35th St.	(916)457-9991	Charles Bruns
Minister of Education GEORGE MURRAY	Los Angeles	4115 Central	(213)235-4127	Banks
Minister of Finance MELVIN NEWTON	Seattle	176-26th St.	(206)323-6208	Aaron Dixon
*Minister of Foreign Affair	Indianapolis	113 W. 30th	(317)923-9181	Fred Crawford
*Minister of Justice	Minneapolis	707 Sheridan Ave.	(612)521-8125	Borry Carter
ePrime Minister	Denver	3401 Franklin k	(303)825-8793	Lauren Watson
STOKELY CARMICHAEL  Communications Secretary	New York	115 S. Elliot Pl.	(212)643-0625	Joudon Ford
KATHLEEN CLEAVER	New Jersey	321 Hawthorne	(201)242-5378	Jimmy York
Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS	JERSEY CITY	•	925-2755 433-9119 432-3725	
		0/00 7		···
·	San Diego	2608 Imperial Ave.	(714)264-8760	Capt. Walter
	Omaha .	3120 N. 24th St.	•	Eddy Boulden
	Detroit	1438 Euclid	•	Victor Stuart
•	Baltimere	1209 N. Eden St. home ph.	(301)837-1309 664=5697	. Capt. Harte
	Chicago	2350 W. Madison	(312)221-9550	Bob Rush
	Houston	7245 8cott #253	(713)747-5606 524-9543	Willie Rudd
•				

Roxbury Massachuchets 375 Blue Hill Ave. Vallejo . 1024 Gateway St. CALIF. 1707 WIDENER PL. PHILADEL PILIA Pa. PITTS BURG PA.

KAUSAS CITY HISSOURI

808 GEARING AUE. LAFERTY AVE. 2216 MONTGALE

520 Bissel

(617)427-9693 648-1320

237=3756

(412) CA 4-3236 (412) 381-4992 (412) 431-4616

Calvin Bernett JERRY BROW FLOYD TITU".

Frank Houghes

Bobby Bowen Phil Vaughn

ERNEST PROMI PETE ONEAL.

Richmond CALIF.

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AIR HAIL - BEGISTERED

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM:

SAC. SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P) 17/4

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

BPP

racial intelligence

For the information of the Bureau and receiving offices, the enclosed list of Black Panther Party (BPP) offices, addresses, telephone numbers, and local leaders, was seized in connection with the arrest of a BPP member in San Diego on 3/10/69. This list was found among the official records of the BPP in San Diego, and was formerly in the possession of Captain WALTER WALLACE, leader of the San Diego EPP. I being furnished for the information and assistance of recipient offices.

- 3 Bureau (Enc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Baltimore (Enc. 1) (AH) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Boston (Enc. 1) (AH) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Chicago (Enc. 1) (AY) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Denver (Enc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Detroit (Rnc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Houston (Enc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED) 2)- Indianapolis (Enc. - 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Kansas City (Enc. 1) (AN) (ANGISTERED)
- 2 Los Angeles (anc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Newark (Inc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 New York (Enc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Omaha (Enc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Philadelphia (Enc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED) 2 Pitteburgh (Enc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 Sacramento (Enc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 San Francisco (Enc. 1) (AM) (REGISTERED) 2 - Scattle\_(Enc. - 1) (AM) (REGISTERED)
- 2 San Diego

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United States Government MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 3/17/69

FROM: SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) P

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST -

HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Kansas City letter to Bureau, 3/3/69.

BI-WEEKLY LETTER - PROPOSED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AGAINST

BPP CHAPTER, KANSAS CITY DIVISION

No specific counterintelligence activity against the Kansas City, Mo. Black Panther Chapter or members is recommended at this time.

Detailed information on chapter activity from 2/27/69 - 3/13/69 is being furnished to the Bureau by LHM dated 3/17/69 captioned "Black Panther Party (BPP), Kansas City Division, Racial Matters" (Bufile 105-165706-Sub 23).

4 - Bureau (RM)

1 - Baltimore (RM)

1 - Boston (RM)

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1 - Philadelphia (RM)

1 - Pittsburgh (RM)

1 - Sacramento (RM)

1 - San Francisco (RM)

1 - Seattle (RM)

1 - San Diego (RM)

4 - Kansas City (2-100-12448) (1-100-12571) (BPP) (1-157-948) (P. O'NEAL

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(25) W 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 70 SERIALIZED FILED MAR 2 0 1969
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KC 100-12448

For the information of the Bureau and San Francisco, that LHM reflects the Tactical Unit of the Kansas City, Mo. Police Departments continues (since 2/4/69) a close surveillance (somewhat harrassing in nature) of the Kansas City Mo. BP Chapter headquarters, officers and members in the area of the headquarters located at 2221 - 23 Lydia, Kansas City, Mo.

On 3/7/69, police arrested JUNE CHARLES SIMS, a BP Chapter member, and a convicted felon, in possession of a firearm immediately after its purchase in Kansas City, Mo. which resulted 3/8/69 in a federal complaint filed by the AT and FD, U. S. Treasury Department, against SIMS who was released on \$2,500 bond. The AT and FD is investigating possible like federal violations by chapter BP members, including a purchase on 1/16/69 by PETE O'NEAL, BP Chapter head, in the purchase of firearms from gun suppliers.

The original information, setting up SIMS arrest, received from a former CI on 2/4/69 of the Kansas City FBI Office, was the basis of a police alert and arrest of SIMS on 3/7/69.

The Kansas City Office remains alert, through various sources, to exploit any BP Chapter vulnerability for possible counterintelligence activity.

Re San Diego airtel 3/14/69, to Bureau and various offices, listing the Kansas City, Mo. BP Chapter as PETE O'NEAL, 2216 Montgale (should be Montgall, Kansas City, Mo.). This appears incorrect, though 2216 Montgall, telephone CH 1-3671, is the present residence of PETE O'NEAL (aka FELIX LINDSEY), with his parents, the FELIX O'NEALS Senior. That address may be used at times by PETE O'NEAL as a mailing address. All pertinent offices have previously been advised as to the two unlisted telephones and the Kansas City, Mo. BP Chapter head-quarters, at 2221 - 23 Lydia, Kansas City, Mo.

**L'ECLASSIFIED** Authority: RD 35214 By: NARA Date: 9/19/13 FBI Automatic Declassification

Director, FBI (100-448006)

3/24/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau 3/10/69.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Informant will meet FOIA(b)(7) - (D) again if he comes to Indianapolis and will obtain the names of persons FOIA(b)(7) - (D) if all goes as presently planned. This will provide an opportunity to determine members and organizers of the BPP FOIA(b)(7) - (D) should something develop from this. Any other possibilities to utilize informant in the future will be capitalized on.

3-Bureau (RM) 1) Indianapolis LLG/sjr

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SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11882

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NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 72

Director, FBI (100-448006)

4/7/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COMPONIAL

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Authority: RD 3 5 2 19
By: DNC NARA Date: 9/19/13
FBI Auto Diclassification

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau 3/24/69.

developing between JOE MARTIN, Minister of Information, ROBERT O'BANNON, Deputy Minister of Information, DONALD HOWARD CAMPBELL, Minister of Health, and FRED CRAWFORD, Chairman, all of the Indianapolis Chapter of the BPP. Informant stated that the friction had been developing over the fact that MARTIN, O'BANNON and CAMPBELL had been doing the speaking for the BPP recently, and apparently they had been keeping all of the proceeds from their speeches instead of turning the proceeds over to the BPP, and so CRAWFORD was not getting his cut of the funds.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

As a result on 3/27/69, informant advised that MARTIN, CAMPBELL, and O'BANNON had a dispute with CRAWFORD and resigned from the BPP. On 3/31/69, informant advised that DONALD CAMPBELL, had returned to the BPP after CRAWFORD had gone and talked to him asking him to return. Informant stated however that MARTIN and O'BANNON appeared to be leaving the BPP for good and were starting an organization on their own, which would be cooperative with the white individuals of the New Left, and they would attempt to obtain funds from the white college students, etc. for their organization.

Informant will continue to follow the situation and serve to disrupt BPP plans whenever the opportunity presents itself. Informant advises the number of active BPP members has been dwindling.

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1 - Indianapolis

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Director, FBI (100-448006)

**4/21/69**EOIA(b)3 - Rule 6(e), Grand Jury
FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 4/7/69.

The only other counterintelligence measures presently being utilized are the interviewing of BPP members of the Indianapolis Division which it is felt may help to discourage the remaining few BPP members in the Indianapolis Chapter. Indianapolis intends to continue interviewing any members who are willing to talk with Agents.

2 - Bureau (RM) 1 - Indianapolis LLG/gsk (3)

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157-761-35

### Airtel

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLICENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (VISUAL AIDS) BUDED: 5/23/69

ReBuairtel to Albany and all recipient offices

## 12/6/63.

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2	-	Atlanta	

- 2 Baltimore
- 2 Birminghem
- 2 Boston
- 2 Buffalo
- Charlotte /
- Chicage
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- 2 Columbia .
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- 2 Denver
- 2 Datroit
- 2 Houston
- Indianapolis
- 2 Jackson
- 2 Jacksonville
- 2 Kansas City
- 2 los ingeles
- 2 Lerohis 2 Lichi 2 Milwaukee

- 2 Mirmeapolis
- 2 Mobile
- 2 Newark
- 2 New Haven
- New Orleans
- 2 Hew York
- 2 Omaha
- 2 Philadelphia
- 2 Phoenix
- 2 Pittsburgh
- 2 Portland
- 2 Richmond
- 2 Secramento
- 2 San Diego
- 2 Sam Francisco
- 2 Seattle
- 2 Springfield
- 2 St. Lcuis
- Tampa

Airtel to SAC, Albany
Re: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (VISUAL AIDS)
100-448006

Referenced airtel requested each office to submit on a continuing basis visual material relating to violence by black extremists. The Bureau has not received any such material in some time and the material on hand is becoming dated. Each office, therefore, should furnish any further material available.

Photographs of scenes of racial violence, sniping attacks on police, arsenals of black extremists, diagrams of sabotage devices and photographs of black extremists in uniform or drilling are examples of material needed. Photographs furnished should be glossy, 8" X 10" in size if available and material submitted will not be returned, thus only copies should be furnished.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

5/5/69

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 4/21/69; and Bureau letter to San Francisco, 4/23/69.

In referenced letter to San Francisco, the Bureau requested comments regarding the counterintelligence possibilities in connection with the conflict in Berkeley, California, between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and a group of dissidents led by ex-BPP members TOMMY NONES and RICHARD ANDERSON. The aforementioned conflict has not been an issue in the Indianapolis Chapter todate. ANDERSON in referenced letter charged that the BPP changed their beliefs every day and it has been noticed that the BPP in Indianapolis changes their beliefs in order to serve their present purpose. The turn of events in Berkeley has had no known effect on the BPP in Indianapolis and there are no known counterintelligence measures which could be taken in that regard.

It has been observed that the BPP in Indianapolis has changed their beliefs to suit their purposes and in that regard a recent incident occurred when the BPP spoke on the Indiana University campus at Bloomington, Indiana. On the campus among other political parties there are two racial parties opposing each other. One is the Revolutionary Student Party (RSP) and the other is the United Students' Movement (USM). The RSP has all white candidates, while the USM is a black and white coalition group and has blackcandidates included in their party. The RSP recently invited the BPP in Indianapolis to the Indiana University campus to speak

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in support of the RSP in the hope of dividing the vote of the black students on campus. Thus the BPP in Indianapolis went to the campus and supported the RSP not knowing what they were doing, and actually opposed the black students on the campus who were involved with the USM. At the meeting when the BPP was speaking some black students pointed out to the Panthers who spoke what they were doing, and that the RSP was not interested at all in the black people and that they had invited the BPP only as a political move to try and divide the black students. In comment the BPP members from Indianapolis explained that they support anyone who supports them and they did so in this case to the detriment of the black students.

By a separate letter the Indianapolis Office is going to make a request of the Bureau to send an anonymous letter from Bloomington to the central BPP Headquarters in Berkeley, California, pointing out the way the BPP leaders locally, namely FRED CRAWFCRD, Chairman of the BPP, are acting, that being either out of ignorance and being unprepared or else inopposition to the black people and students which is inconsistent with BPP policies. It is felt that this might help to stirgup problems between the local chapter and the National Headquarters of the BPP, and would be a possible counterintelligence move of value.

SAC, Baltimore

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACKAL XETELLIGENCE

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Each recipient office is required to submit a letter every 90 days regarding the overall Counterintelligence Progrem in addition to a letter every two weeks conserning counterintelligence action against the Black Panther Party (EPP).

Sen Francisco has suggested that this procedure is a partial duplication of effort. In the future your 90-day counterintelligence letters need not repeat information contained in the two-week letters concerning EPP counterintelligence. It will be sufficient to note the dates on which bi-weekly letters regarding EPP counterintelligence were submitted.

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Director, FBI (100-448006)

5/19/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)(P)

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE ( BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 5/5/69.

Concerning referenced letter, mention was made that a letter would be sent to the Bureau for approval in regard to possible counterintelligence action against the BPP in Indianapolis, Indiana, and more specifically aimed at the Charman, FRED CRAWFORD. However, in view of the fact CRAWFORD has been subpoenaed to San Francisco, California to testify, and the possibility exists he might testify, the letter is being held in abeyance until it has been determined he is not going to be cooperative with the Federal case in progress. San Francisco Office advised it would not be desireable to jeopardize the possibility he might testify and if a letter was sent at this time, it might have an effect on whether he would testify. If subject does not testify, the anonymous letter mentioned in referenced letter will be submitted and used if approved.

Present counterintelligence measures consist of continuing attempts to interview BPP members.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

6/2/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, dated 5/19/69.

At an earlier date in May, 1969, an affiliate of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis named RONALD BOYCE, was interviewed at Marion County Jail, after being arrested on a narcotics charge, and given thirty days in jail. BYCE at that time was willing to talk with agents but very evasive, cocky, and unwilling to say anything of value. On 5/27/69, BOYCE was observed in the City -County Building, outside one of the municipal court rooms. He was approached by agents while standing apart from other BPP members who were present in the hall. BOYCE was greeted and approached with comments indicating that he had been cooperative in the past with agents. BOYCE did not act unfriendly and the other BPP members nearby were watching with great interest. Inasmuch as the BPP leaders here do not want members to talk to agents and cooperate in any way, and since they have been suspicious of all members, it is felt that this act may have had merit as a counterintelligence measure. It was noted immediately after this that the other members did not want to have much to do with BOYCE, and they immediately indicated distrust toward him.

In the event any other such situations present themselves, and appear to have any counterintelligence merit, they will be utilized for the appropriate purpose. Attempts to interview any members who might talk and even those who have been unwilling to talk will be continued.

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# Memorandum

ro : SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

DATE: 4/23/69

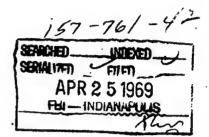
FROM : Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)



ReSFtel to Director 4/8/69 captioned "Black Panther Party, Racial Matters,"

Referenced teletype disclosed that about twenty dissidents from the BPP led by Tommy Jones and Richard Anderson held a press conference two doors away from BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, California. This press conference was in response to one held by Bobby Seale, BPP chairman, the day before at which time Seale had denounced Jones as an FBI informant and agent provocateur. Seale stated that Jones had been expelled from the BPP for armed robbery. Jones in return accused the Panthers of assassination and denied being an informant, Jones stated that the dissidents were not going to take this kind of treatment lying down. Another of the dissidents, Richard Anderson, charged that he was thrown out because he wanted to follow the ten point program laid down by Huey Newton. He charged that Panthers changed their beliefs every day, sometimes following Stalin, Lenin or Marx and then switching to MAO Tse-tung. Anderson estimated that more than 100 persons had been expelled from the BPP in recent months. Unidentified women said that they left the BPP in disgust when they learned the Panthers did not respect Party doctrine concerning the protection of black women.

		•
2 - Albany	(2)- Indianapolis	2 - New York
2 - Baltimore	2 - Jackson	2 - Omaha
2 - Boston .	2 - Kansas City	2 - Philadelphia
2 - Buffalo	2 - Los Angeles	2 - Portland
2 - Charlotte	2 - Louisville	2 - Sacramento
2 - Chicago	2 - Milwaukee	2 - San Diego
2 - Cincinnati	2 - Minneapolis	2 - Seattle
2 - Denver	2 - Newark	2 - Springfield
2 - Detroit	2 - New Haven	2 - WFO

Letter to SAC, San Francisco RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM 100-448006

The above situation presents a definite potential for counterintelligence which could result in the disruption of the BPP on both a national and local level. Each office receiving copies of this communication should review this material with the view in mind of disrupting its local chapter and assisting San Francisco as office of origin in a disruption of the group on a national level.

Each office should specifically comment on this turn of events as it relates to its chapter and how it could relate nationally. These comments may be placed in the next biweekly letter. Specific proposals for counterintelligence on a local level concerning this matter should be furnished the Bureau for action and San Francisco for information. This matter is being followed closely at the Bureau.

6/16/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau dated 6/2/69.

On June 10, 1969 Lieutenant SHELDON LASKY, Head, Special Investigation Unit, Indianapolis, Indiana Police Department, advised that a plainclothes officer of the Indianapolis Police Department, during the early morning hours of June 7, 1969, had obtained a number of papers and documents from the BPP headquarters in Indianapolis. materials were obtained as the result of the arrest of numerous persons for disorderly conduct in connection with civil disturbances on June 7, 1969, at Indianapolis, Indiana. Police officers arresting persons in regards to this disturbance. noticed several individuals leave the street area and take refuge in the BPP headquarters. Officers entered the headquarters, arresting approximately eight to ten individuals, among those being STANFORD PATTON, Minister of Education, LAWRENCE ROBERTS. Minister of Finance, and BONALD CAMPBELL. Minister of Health, of the BPP.

The papers and materials were obtained at this time, according to Lieutenant LASKY, and it was his opinion that it could not be said that they were obtained incidental to arrest. Lieutenant LASKY advised that they would be used for intelligence purposes and provided the Indianapolis Office with appropriate copies.

2 - Bureau (RM)
Indianapolis
(1 - 157-1061)

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157-761-43

The Indianapolis Division is currently evaluating the information contained in these papers and documents to determine their value for counterintelligence usage.

6/30/69

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 6/16/69.

On 6/26/69, FOIA(b)(7) - (D) advised that STANFORD PATTON, JR., Minister of Education of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Indianapolis, and MAUREEN PREVOST, who PATTON was living with, had a dispute. According to informant, PATTON lived with PREVOST at 3049 North Park, and she paid all the bills. PATTON asked her to move out, but keep paying the bills and for her to find another place to live. She, in turn, kicked him out of the apartment. PREVOST, since that time, has been reportedly kicked out of the BPP.

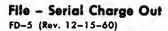
Indianapolis will attempt to interview MAUREEN PREVOST to ascertain if she might be more cooperative than in the past, and if she will talk to Agents.

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Director, FBI (100-448006)

7/9/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)(9)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in the Indianapolis Division follows:

## A. Nation of Islam (NOI)

The NOI in the Indianapolis Division has approximately 140 members at present. This figure represents no change from the date of the last letter, as no significant changes have taken place. There are two numbered mosques, number 31 in South Bend, and number 33 in Gary. In addition, there are five other temples or mosques, located in Evansville, Fort Wayne, Muncie, Indianapolis, and East Chicago, Indiana. The three largest units are South Bend, Gary and Indianapolis, with about 50,45 and 27 members respectively.

The NOI at Muncie has about 5 or 6 members, but have lost their meeting place and have not had meetings recently. The other units with the exception of the three largest, each have about 6 members and are struggling for existence.

There has been no known proposed violence or problems caused by the NOI to date in the Indianapolis Division. There is always the possibility the NOI might cause trouble, although their potential at this time does not seem great. The leaders of all of the temples and mosques in the Indianapolis Division adhere to the teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, their leader.

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## B. Radical Action Project (RAP)

The Radical Action Project also known as the Black Radical Action Project is still located at 2264 North Meridian Street, in Indianapolis, Indiana. The RAP is presently at the end of their funds, not having received any funds since using up their last grant from the Episcopal Church which was not renewed. CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS, Chairman of RAP and BILL CRAWFORD, whose title is Organizer of RAP, are now the only persons who are at RAP Headquarters. The rest of the staff of RAP are no longer working as they do not have funds to pay them, and HENDRICKS and CRAWFORD are working without pay at present. Their primary function has been to maintain the Afro-American Bookstore which RAP operates however, it has been losing money on a regular basis and their debts are accumulating so it will not continue to operate much longer unless funds are received.

RAP has operated within the framework of the law in the past and have attempted to establish Negro owned businesses, help Negroes to find employment, and have taken a strong stand against police brutality and harassment. They frequently complain to the police department when black persons are arrested and to date have posed no real threat of violence. The potential however exists as long as they continue to operate. It appears they may be non-existent in the near future.

## C. Black Panther Party (BPP)

The BPP continues to be the most active organization in the Indianapolis area, and operates from their headquarters at 113 West 30th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Chairman of the BPP in Indianapolis is FRED CRAWFORD; STANFORD PATTON, JR. is now Minister of Education instead of Minister of Defense; DONALD H. CAMPBELL is Minister of Health and Minister of Finance, and WILL SHARRIEF, is Captain of Defense. Their membership is presently about twelve to fifteen active members at most, with CRAWFORD, CAMPBELL and ROBERTS being the main leaders and speakers.

The BPP in Indianapolis has the most potential for violence of any of the organizations; however, to date have not actually started any trouble. The BPP recently has been attempting to start a Breakfast for School Children Program and has been looking for a new headquarters location; however, neither has been successful to date. The activities of the BPP are followed in a bi-weekly letter.

## 1. Operations Under Consideration

The plans under consideration at this time are to continue interviewing all members and affiliates of the black extremist groups. The interviews in the past have been very effective in most groups, with the RPP being the exception as members of the BPP will not talk with agents, except on a rare occasion. The BPP would also like to relocate their headquarters and as a counterintelligence move when location is being considered and is known, Indianapolis will attempt to see the location is not available to them.

## 2. Operations Being Effected

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

## 3. Tangible Results

As a result of contact with A(b)(7) - (D) and the grant not being renewed RAP now has no funds, their staff has been let go, they are two months behind in rent, no one is receiving any salary, the membership has dwindled to

where the organization has become almost non-existent, and the bookstore is putting them farther in debt each month it is operated.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest
None other than those mentioned above.

OFFICIAL FORM NO. 10 UNITED STATES GOERNMENT

# Memorandum

SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

DATE: 7/2/69

FROM

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Enclosed for recipient offices are copies of the following: .

- Article appearing in 5/11/69 issue of "The Black Panther" entitled "Breakfast for School Children."
- Article appearing in 5/11/69 issue of "The Black Panther" entitled "We Want an End to the Robbery by the White Man of the Black Community.
- 3) Article appearing in 5/11/69 issue of "The Black Panther" entitled "Black Panther Revolutionary Wedding."
- Article appearing in 6/24/69 issue of "The Washington Post" a daily newspaper of general circulation, Washington, D. C., entitled "Panthers: A Recital of Fear and Crime."

Enclosures - 6

2 - Boston (157-654) (Enclosures - 6)

2 - Chicago (157-2209)(Enclosure 6) 2 - Detroit (157-3214) (Enclosure)

(Enclosure 6)

2 - Kansas City (100-12448) (Enclosures - 6)

2 - Los Angeles (157-1751) (Enclosures - 6)

2 - Milwaukee (157-459) (Enclosures - 6)

2 - New York (100-161140) (Enclosures - 6) 2 - Omaha

(157-272)(Enclosures - 6)

2 - Sacramento (100-894) (Enclosures - 6)

2 - Seattle (157-721) (Enclosures - 6)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Blad

11687:03-0DocId:59167388 Page 93

Letter to SAC. San Francisco RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM 100-448006

- 5) Article appearing in the 6/15/69 issue of "The New York Times," a New York City daily newspaper of general circulation entitled "Black Panthers Serving Youngsters a Diet of Food and Politics."
- 6) One copy of the "Black Panther Coloring Book."

The above enclosures are being furnished recipient offices in view of the fact that these offices have had Black Panther Party (BPP) breakfasts for children at least on one occasion. In some offices the "Breakfast for Children" program is continuing even though school is out for the summer. It is reasonable to expect that this program will be continued by the BPP in the fall. It has given the BPP a new impetus. They have obtained excellent press coverage which has most probably recruited or lined up persons for recruitment as a result of this program.

The reasons behind this program are obvious. The BPP needs a connection with "the people." They are able to poison the minds of small children who take this hate into their homes. The food used is usually obtained as a result of semi-extortion and veiled threats. The Party uses naive thinking clergymen in their breakfast program. As a result, churches are usually locations of the breakfasts.

Effective counterintelligence can successfully disrupt the Black Panther Party in its vicious attempts to poison the minds of children through its "Breakfast for Children" program. The enclosures being furnished each office have been reproduced on unwatermarked paper and contain no identifying information. They should be reviewed for counterintelligence merit. Specific proposals will be entertained at the Bureau concerning anonymous mailings of this material and other pertinent material to persons and places involved in this program. These mailings should be considered for such people as clergymen, lay leaders of the churches involved, political leaders, and other pertinent persons. Take no specific action without prior Bureau authority.

Enclosures - 6
Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006
7/2/69

# BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

The Breakfast for School Children program was kicked off on Monday, April 14, at two churches in the Black Community of Kansas City, Missouri. Deputy Minister of Information Bill Whitfield and Deputy Minister of Labor Tommy Robinson have worked very hard in getting the plans together for the Program. The Missouri Chapter of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY has combed Kansas City's Black Community and outlying business areas asking for food donations, money, equipment, churches and recreation centers in which to the breakfasts, and volunteers.

The Black Panther Party has also hounded the avaricious businessine infesting the Black Community, who rob, steal, and fuck over Black People. Some of them have come acress with donations but other jive-time corner grocery stores charging space-age prices for stene-age quality food have refused to cooperate. Therefore we call on the masses of oppressed peoples to kill this worm of economic exploitation.

The large businesses in the city such as Scaltest Dairies, Foremost Dairies, and Country Club Dairles have had the audacity to say that the price of milk is too high for them to donate milk. Bullshit! Who sets the prices? The ... Kroger chain store refused to donate food or otherwise cooperate with the people's revolutionary program because they claimed they already donate food to Soul Inc. another Black organization which is doing their thing to take care of the people's needs. But that is still a cop-out. The People will also deal with this antogonistic contradiction. ه تا موادر د

On Monday (April 14) about 30 children showed up for the break-fast at St. Stephen Baptist Church and Pasco Baptist Church. At the time of this writing about 450 children are being fed daily frozen

pe 'a good way to show the eppressed masses of Black, Third World, and poer White peoples that they are the strength of the Revolution. Not only does this

The Black Panther Party has Breakfast program show them so hounded the avaricious busiessined infesting the Black Comunity, who rob, steal, and fuck program takes care of an immediter Black People. Some of them ate need -- feeding the children!

Right now we are making an increased effort to get volunteers from the masses to run the program. This is the People's thing?

However the Board of Education has different ideas. When the Breakfast program started the School Board immediately came up with \$30,0001 with which to attempt to co-opt the people's program. They have had this money for years but the people did not know anything about it until now. Where did the School Board get this money? Recently a school levy was defeated (2/3 majority required) and allegedly the school system needs the money in order to function for the next year. Yet they can come up with \$30,000 when the BLACK PANTHER. PARTY starts a revolutionary program. Money won't huy this prograin because the people own it, the Dollar being a funky tool of racist Capitalism! The people can ; only guess what the pig structure intends to do with this money? Start a competing breakfast program?? If they do you can believe it will be with surplus commodity food -- powdered milk, powdered ergs, powdered pirt for the Blick Community treasplost links PRESI eggs, Palariman, thish fruit, FRESH meat, THE PIG WILL. FAILH RIGHT ONE ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Deputy Chairman

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# WE WALL AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE HALL OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

The Black community has been ripped off again Brother Alvert Joe Linthcome's death by pigs. The same pigs who refused to give a piece of bacon to the masses of Black people, who were not getting their basic needs and desires met by this pig power structure. The Black Panther Party has gone forth and met the people's need with forces of the Hunters Point Community in serving the community hot breakfast every school day. The avaricious businessman can no longer exist in our Black communities and we mean all nickel slick jive monkey a -- businessmen.

That's just like Allan & Sons Meat Company, oig this. Here are some gully-snipers that has one of the largest meat operations in the City and the ordors that come from these racists dog's company is enough to knock an elephant out, so when members of the Party contacts these beasts about the Breakfast for School Children Program for donations, the dog pig didn't give up a link, do you hear me? Not even a promise. People, it's crystal clear these avaricious businessmen don't have the interest of the people in mind at all, you know like there is plenty meat at the bottom of the hill. Enough meat to serve the people's needs but the people are supposed to play right on past that. It's just like me screwing a sister in front

of a crowd of brothers and telithem they don't supposed to want
to engage in no screwing, how silly
does that sound? How can these
punks believe that everything is
here on earth to meet the people's
needs and the people's needs are
not being filled or met. That's his
butt with his finger stuck in it. The
people's needs must be met by any
means necessary and it ain't no
bull-shit,
power to the people
black power to black
people

people
POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK
PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE
VANGUARD

John Brown Al Croll







By Charles Del Vecchio-The Washington Post

Former Black Panther Party members Jean and Larry Powell waiting to testify at Senate hearing.

# Panthers: A Recital of Fear and Crime

By George Lardner Jr. Washington Post Staff Writer

Black berets still perehed on their heads, two disillusioned Black Panthers marched into a Senate hearing room yesterday and accused the organization's leaders of turning it into a racket that thrives on armed robberies and shakedowns of ghetto merchants.

"The Black Panther Party, as an organization, nobody knews about it," protested Jean Powell who worked at its national headquarters before she was drummed cut with her husband. "When people (in the Party) get up to tell, they are threatened or feared or killed."

Her husband, Larry, said Party discipline is strict, even for lesser infractions such as not selling enough Party newspapers.

Sometimes, he told the Sen-

ate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, members are beaten. Sometimes, they are "jailed."

"Does the Party actually jail people?" Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.) asked incredulously.

"Yes," replied Powell who said he had been a Panther gunman and enforcer. "They have a maximum security room under national head-quarters (in the Oakland,

Parkens Willem

Calif., area) and that's where a person is put.

"It depends on how soon he gets through his 'political education' (as to) when he is released."

The testimony poured out during a long day in the sprawling Senate Appropriations. Committee hearing room, dramatically orchestrated with bright lights, charts and armed guards. The Powells, both 25, said they had already been threatened with death. Powell sald he found himself labeled a "counter-revolutionary" after his arrest last December for an armed robbery earried out "at the direction of the Black Panther Party."

The witnesses maintained that the robberics and other "fund-raising" activities of the Panthers bring \$50,000 to \$100,000 a month into national headquarters but that "none of it" is spent on the ghetto poor.

They put the blame on Black Panther "chlef of staff," David Hilliard, whom they accused of perverting the Party's original goals.

Clad in a black minidress, net stockings and white plastic boots, Mrs. Powell also accused unnamed Party members of violating young girls.

"A lot of the tecnage girls are used by the Party members for their own satisfaction," she told the Subcommittee, "even though they're only 14, 15, or 16 years old."

Subcommittee Chairman John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) abruptly lifted his glasses. "You mean they use them for . .?" he asked, leaving the sentence unfinished.

"For sexual satisfaction," Powell confirmed. A girl "is ordered to submit and she submits," his wife added.

Powell began his testimony still clutching his slim red volume of "Quotations by Chairman Mao Tse-tung," the Black Panther Party's so-called "red book."

He and his wife indicated that they still believed in the three-year-old Party's orlginal goals, especially as enunclated by founder Huey P. Newton. (Newton is serving a 2-to-15-year prison term for the slaying of an Oakland policeman.)

But as the original Party's leaders were jailed, exiled or killed, they said, its aims were turned around largely by Hilliard. Newton, they maintained, believed in violence only in response to violence.

Now, Powell said, of "the original Huey P. Newton party," only Bobby George Seale, Black Panter chairman, is left, and Seals, the witness asserted, has become drugged day by day with Scotch" and come to "depend solely on David Hilliard"

An earlier witness, Capt. John E. Drass of the Washington, D. C., Metropolitan Police Department, who was assigned last year to the Subcommittee staff, said that that the Panters get "most" of their money by robberies.

"The Party receives a third of everything that's liberated," Powell testified. "And they receive that third per eent every day." He said there were "two or three" robberles "each night" in the Oakland area alone. "I used to run off the plans for them," he sald.

The money, in turn, was supposed to be used, among other things, to guarantee quick bail and a lawyer for Black Panthers who might be eaught, Powell said. But he said he was left sltting in jail after taking part in the holdup of a nightclub last December.

Both husband and wife maintained that the Panthers top leadership was lining its own pockets with the take. The Panthers have undertaken Free Breakfast programs for ghetto chil-

dren in yarious cities, but the Powells contended that the food comes from shakedowns of ghetto merchants.

"Then it's become more-or less of a racket now?" Sen. Karl Mundt (R-S.D.) asked. "Yes," the two witnesses ehorused.

Smoking one elgarette after another, Mrs. Powell also accused the Panther leaders of having a bunch of "16 and 17 year-olds" assassinate one Panther "renegade" named Ron Black.

Mrs. Powell added that mail from Red China, and mail and phone ealls from Cuba and other countries would often come into Party headquarters. She said, however, that except for packages of books, she was not familiar with the contents.

Other witnesses sald the Panthers now have a nation-wide membership of perhaps 4000 with branches in some 30 cities. Capt. Drass also submitted a list of what he said were "purchasers of

weapons" for the Panthers that included Jimmy Paul Garrett, eurrently on the faculty at Federal City College here.

He could not be reached for comment on the testimony.

# Black Panthers Serving Youngsters

# a Diet of Food and Politics

#### By EARL CALDWELL Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, June 14—It is early morning and the kids come racing up the hill through the chilly mist to a shabby little whitewashed church that overlooks the Hunters Point slum.

The kids are young. Second, third and fourth graders. They are young and black and they come dashing up the hill with their coats open, yelling and grabbing and pushing at each other.

At the back door of the church; sitting at a scarred wooden desk, Richard O'Neal; a 20-year-old member of the Black Panther, party waits for the kids.

"Free Hucy," the first youngster to reach the door shouts. The others follow. "Free Huey. Free Hucy."

O'Neal grins and raises a clenched fist. "Right on, little brothers and sisters," he says. "Right on."

The youngsters rattle off their names and addresses. O'Neal jots them down on forms spread out on the desk. As soon as he can get the information, the children hustle past him and into two small rooms off to the side of the church for eggs, pancakes, grits, sausage, bacon, toast, coffee, milk and sometimes juice.

#### Children Eat for Nothing

The children were there for a free breakfast from the black militant organization, and they were being well fed—with both food and politics.

The breakfast program reaches far beyond this bay area into at least six California cities and several others across the country.

"Right now," Bobby Seale, chairman and co-founder of the Black Panthers, said this week, "we are feeding over 1,000 kids every day right here in the bay area." He said the national program feeds 10,000 youngsters daily in cities including New York, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Los Angeles and Kansas City.

In the bay area the Panthers have their program operating in churches and halls in both the Fillmore and Hunters Point ghettos. Other programs are operating in Oakland and Berkelley.

At rallies the Panthers, who used to hustle donations that they said were needed "for bail money," now ask contributions "to help feed hungry children."

In addition to what they can collect at the rallies and demonstrations, the Panthers also make the rounds of business establishments in the area. Their demand that merchants doing business in the black communities is firm.

One large supermarket, Safeway, is now being subjected to a Panther-led boycott because, according to Seale, it refused to contribute \$100 a week to the breakfast program.

While the Panthers say that the program was initiated "to feed hungry children," they make no effort to mask its political side.

Most of the church basements and halls where the breakfasts are served have huge posters and pictures of Black Panther leaders and heroes of the Black National-

ist Movement pasted on the

The "Frce Hucy" shouts are almost constant, "Free Huey" is a Panther slogan that refers to Huey P. Newton, one of the founders of the organization and its minister of defense who was failed last year after a manslaughter conviction arising from the fatal shooting of an Oakland policeman.

The shouts for Newton's freedom though are not the only slogans the kids have picked up during the breakfast meetings.

In St. Augustine's Episcopal Church in Oakland, Marsha Turner, a young Panther leader, led the youngsters in a song that had these lyrics:

lcader, led the youngsters in a song that had these lyrics:
"There's a pig upon the hill, if you don't shoot em' the Panthers will." And:
"They got Huey in the jail, they won't let 'em out on bail."

NW 11637 DocId: 59167388 Page 101

Marsha, a pretty 16-year-old, yelled the lyrics and after each verse, as in the old Army march song, she would ask the kids to "sound off" and they would respond with the familiar shout of "Free 'Huey."

At another point during the breakfast at St. Augustine's, the kids joined in re-peating after a huskythroated Panther:

"I am a revolutionary; I love Huey P. Newton; I love Eldridge Cleaver; I love Bobby Seale. I love being a revolutionary; I feel good; off the pigs; power to the people."

In the basement of the huge Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church at Fillmore and Fell Streets in San Franclsco, articles from the newspaper published by the Pan-thers were read and explained to the youngsters.

#### Talks Are a Highlight

In a meeting hall a few ocks from Candlestick blocks from Park, the baseball stadium of the San Francisco Giants. the kids took turns explaining what they felt the words political prisoner meant.

And at the Ridge Point Methodist Church, the little white cl-urch at 181 Hilltop Road in the Hunters Pointsection of San Francisco, the youngsters were given coples of the Black Panther paper to take home. The political "talk" ses-

sions that are part of every

breakfast are a highlight for

"Off the pigs," they shout now and their clenched tiny fists shoot into the sic. The term "pigs" is one that the Panthers have popularized among radicals when referring to the police.

· Mostly, the breakfasts are held in the churches. Some in white churches but mostly in the black area. Most of the kids who come for breakfast are black but there are a few whites. Some whites also show up each morning to help prepare the breakfasts but mostly, it is the Panthers themselves who do the cooking, the serving and afterward the dishes.

William Hill, a dark, smoothfaced 18-year-old, stood in the cramped little kitchen in the Ridge Point Methodist Church in Hunters Point and kept busy scrambling eggs in a huge, black skillet. Like many of the Panthers preparing the break-fast, he wore his identifying black leather jacket and slimcut black trousers.

"Everybody gets their chance to cook," he exknow how, they learn. Each morning now, Wil-

Hill and a number of other Panthers involved in the program begin their day at 5 A.M. "You have to get up that early," he explained. "You have to be here by 6. We are ready to start serving by 7 or 7:15. You know we feed about 50 or 60 a day up here."

After the breakfasts are: over and the kids have gone off to school, the Panthers do the cleaning up.

"Then we go out with leaflets or selling the papers or trying to get donations or something," the Hill youth explained.

#### The Panthers Clean Up

"You'll find that very few Panthers have time for a job," he continued. "The people take care of us. As .. long as we are on the job, we don't have to worry about that."

For the Panthers, the breakfast program is a new venture but those Involved do not consider it unusual.

"We see that our children are hungry," Marsha Turner explained, "so we feed them. We know that they are hungry because when we were kids we were hungry. We know what it means to have nothing but cold cornbread and maple syrup in the morning.

... Aside from the refusal of contributions that prompted the Safeway boycott, the program has experienced other difficulties.

One has been the reluctance of certain Negro-churches to allow the Panthers to use their facilities. Some parents have also insisted that their children have breakfast at home.

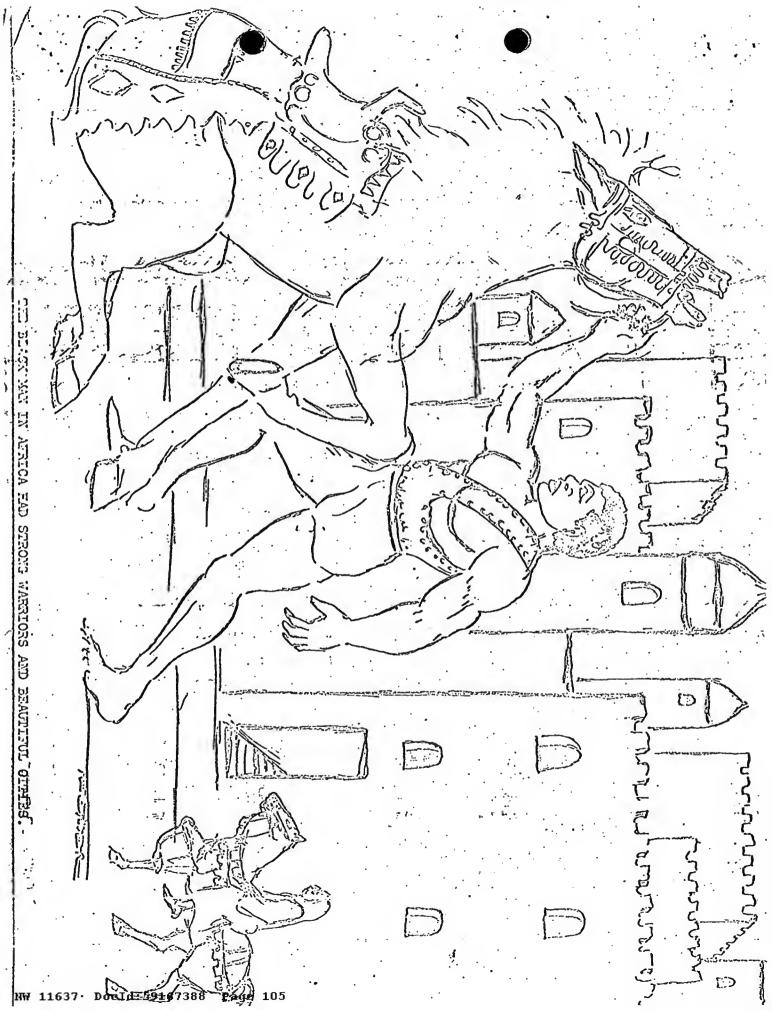
When black churches turned the Panthers down, they went to white churches. When contribu-tions were refused, they boycotted or threatened such action. And as for criticism that the program exploits the kids as it feeds them, the Panthers ignore it.
"Say anything you want,"

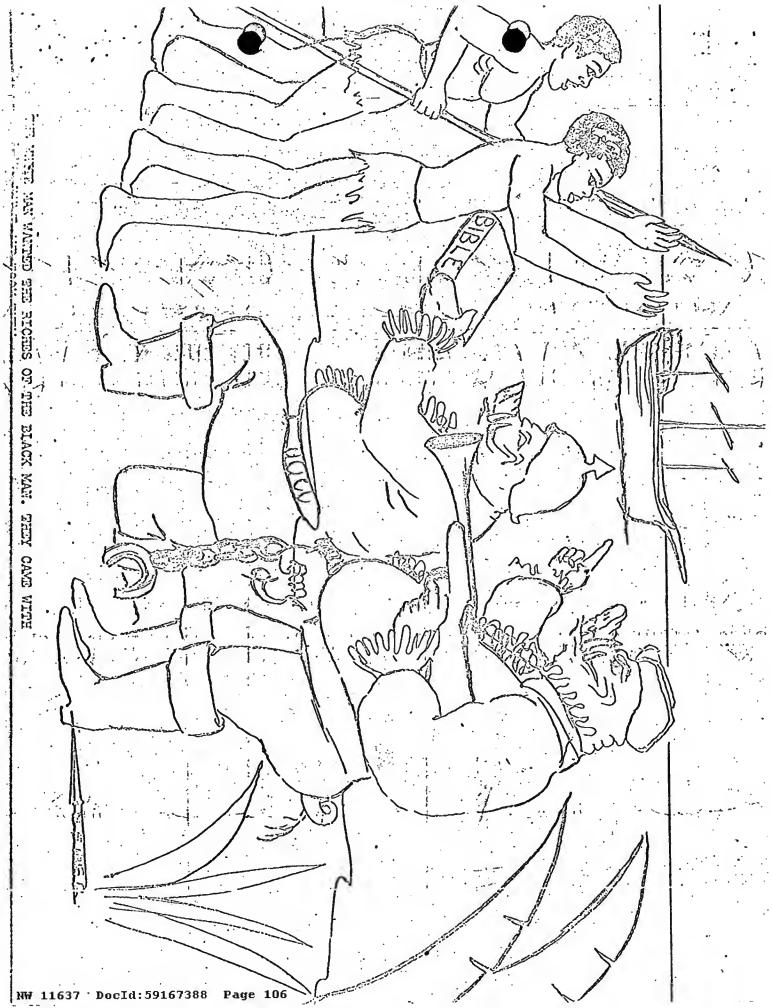
one observer said, "but there is one unmistakable fact: Black Panthers are feeding more kids every day than anyone else. in the whole state of California. Now think about that." ...

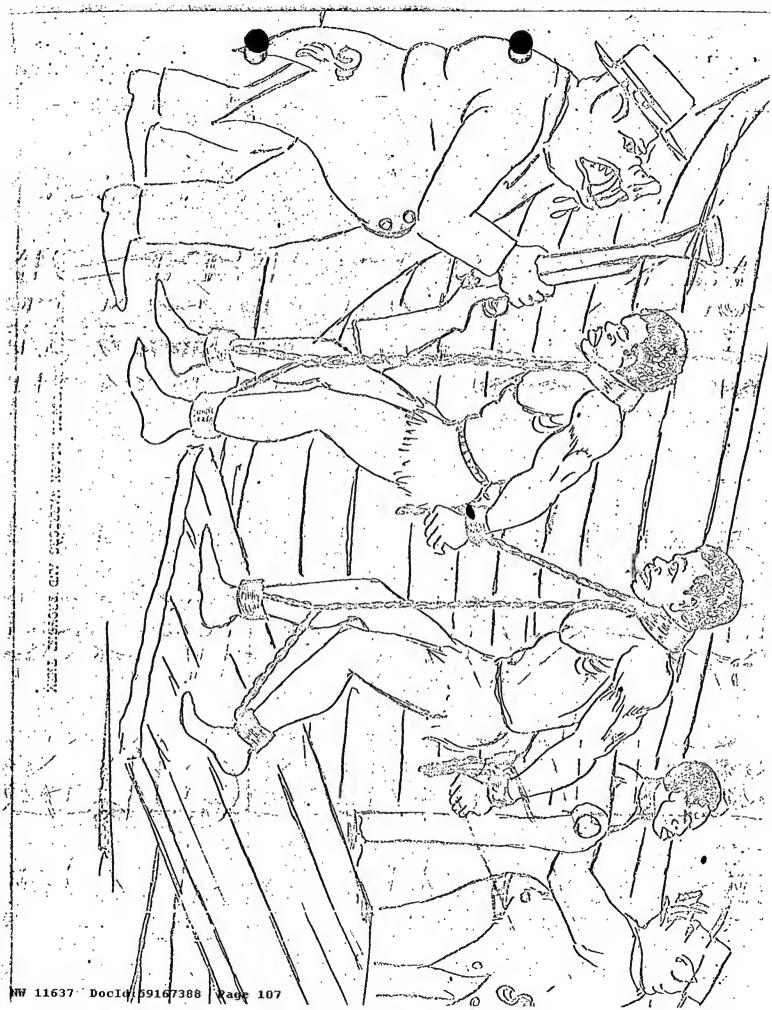


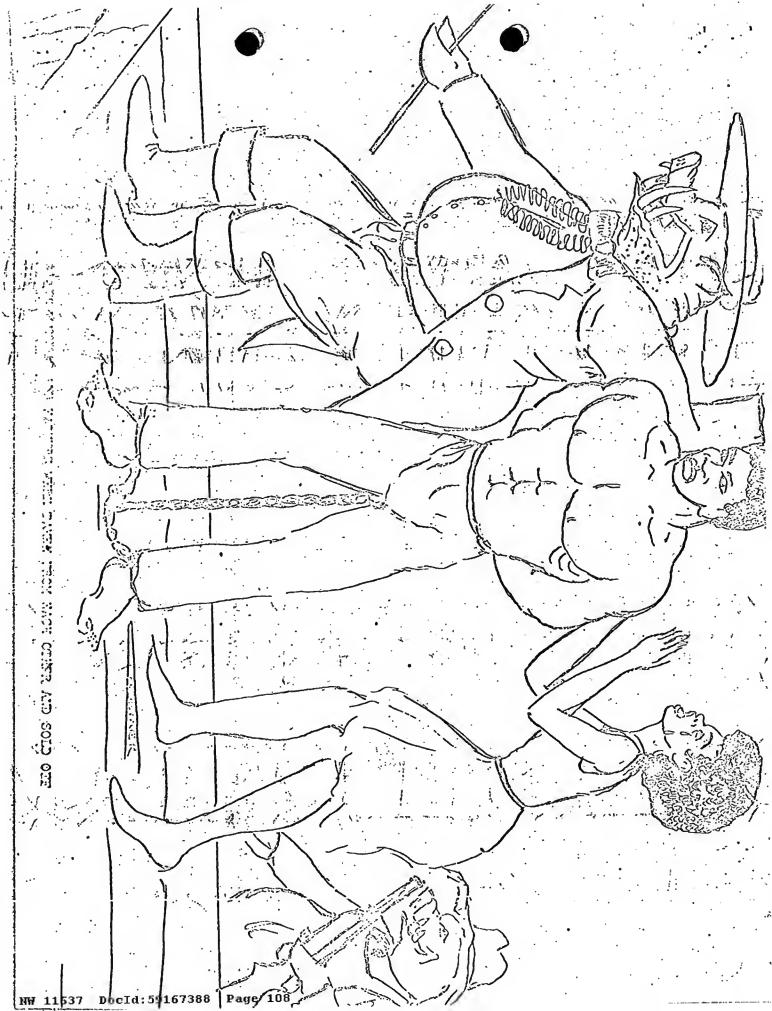
A Black Panther serving breakfast to youngsters at one of the centers in San Francisco

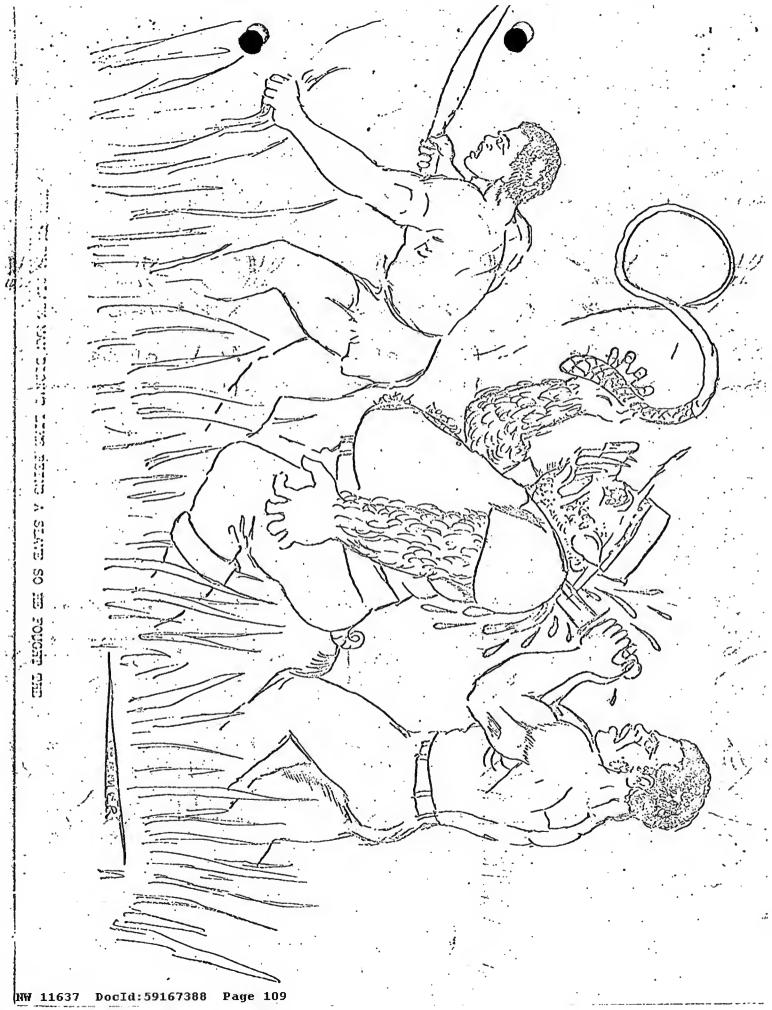
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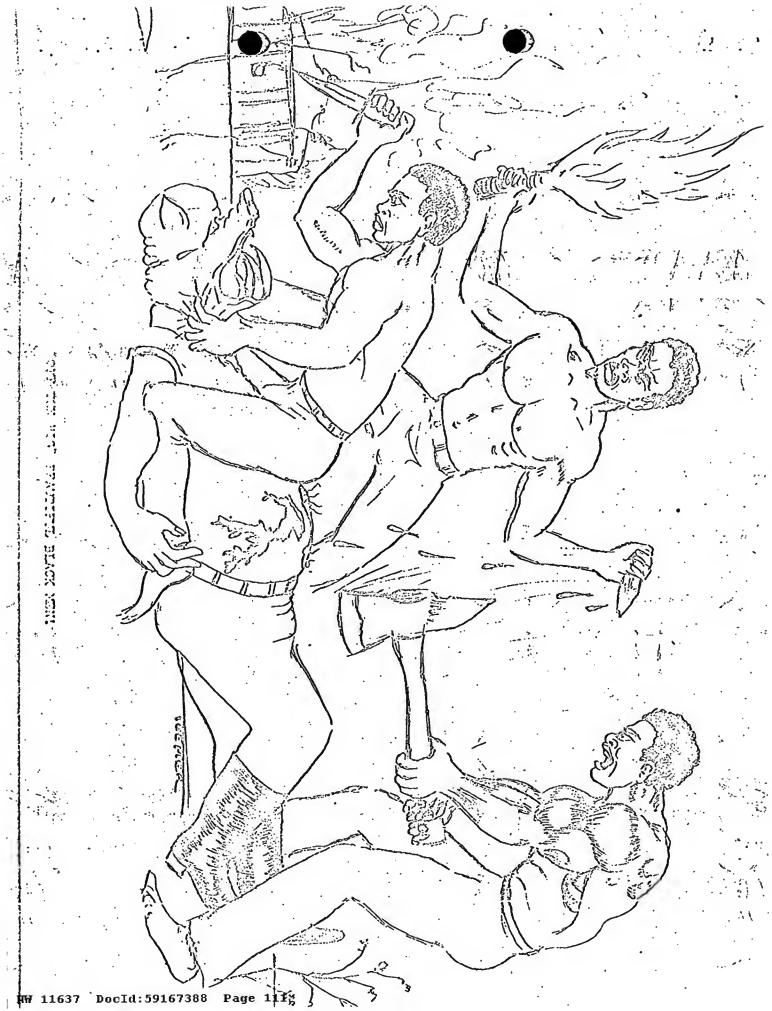




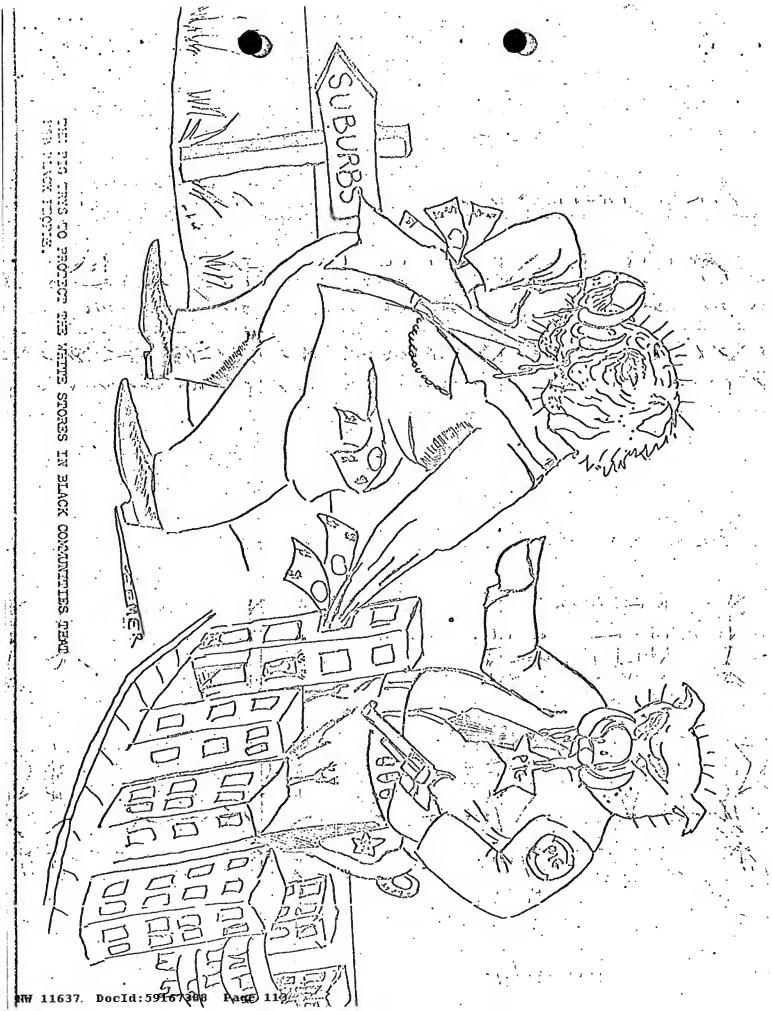


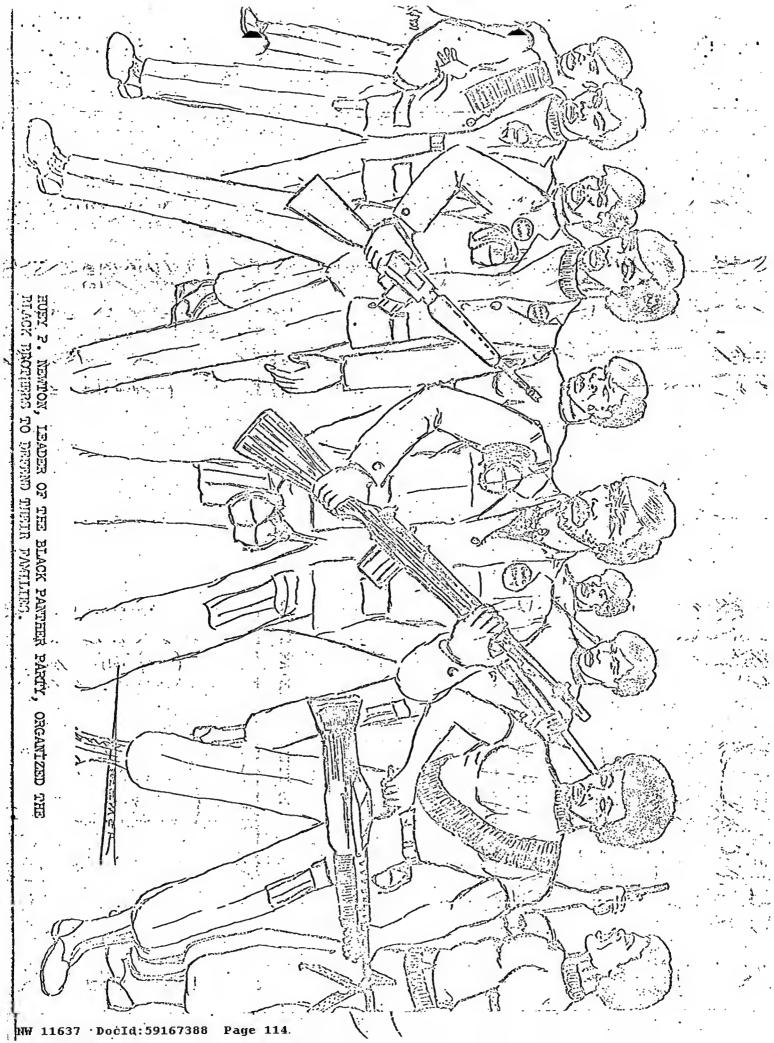


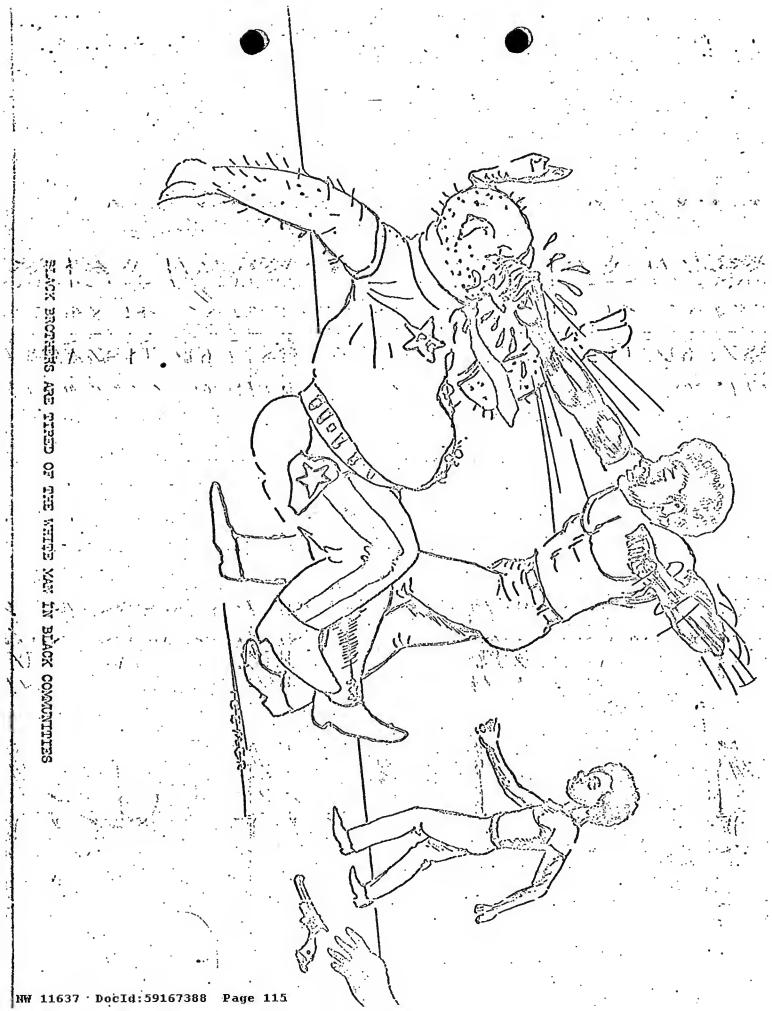


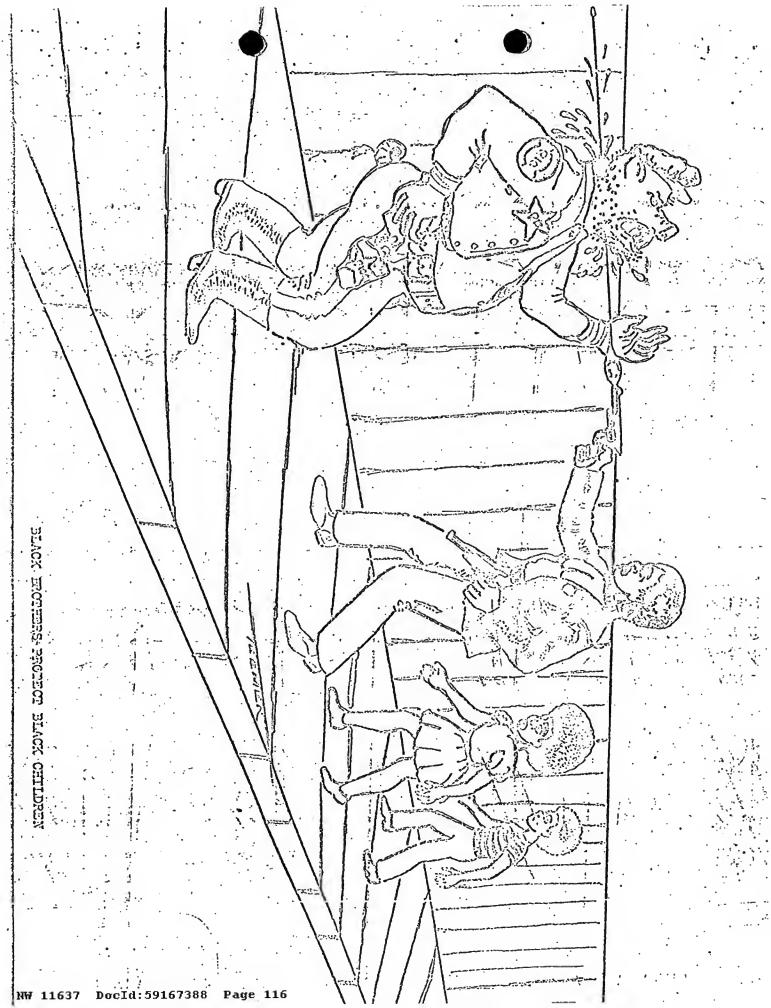


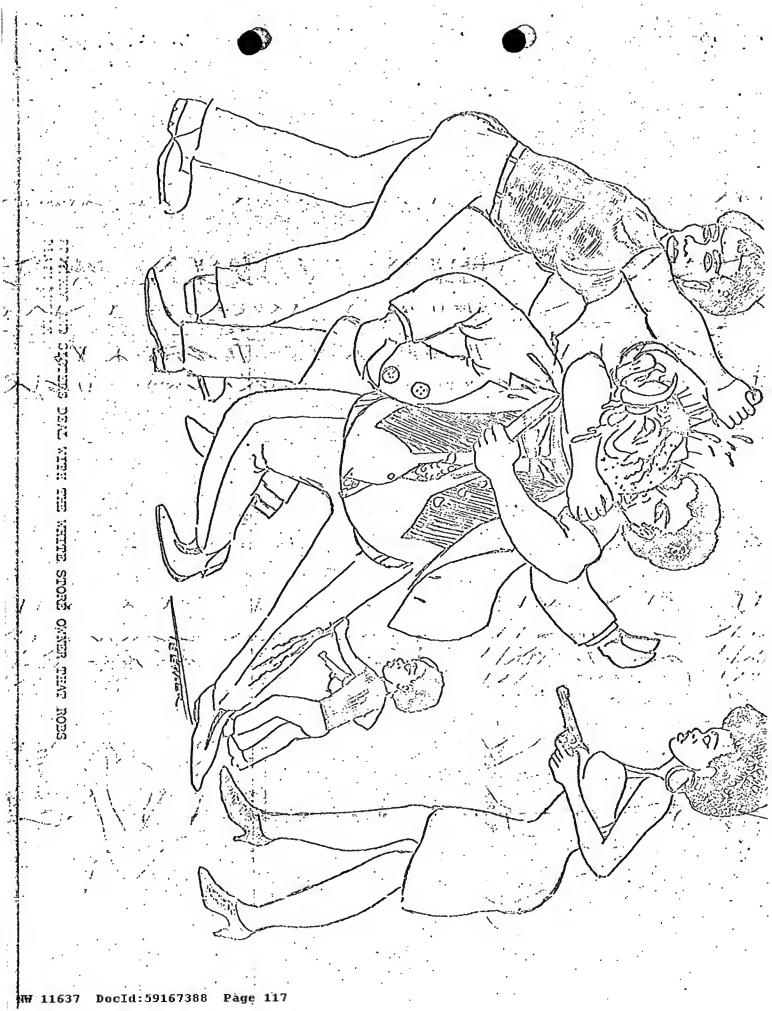






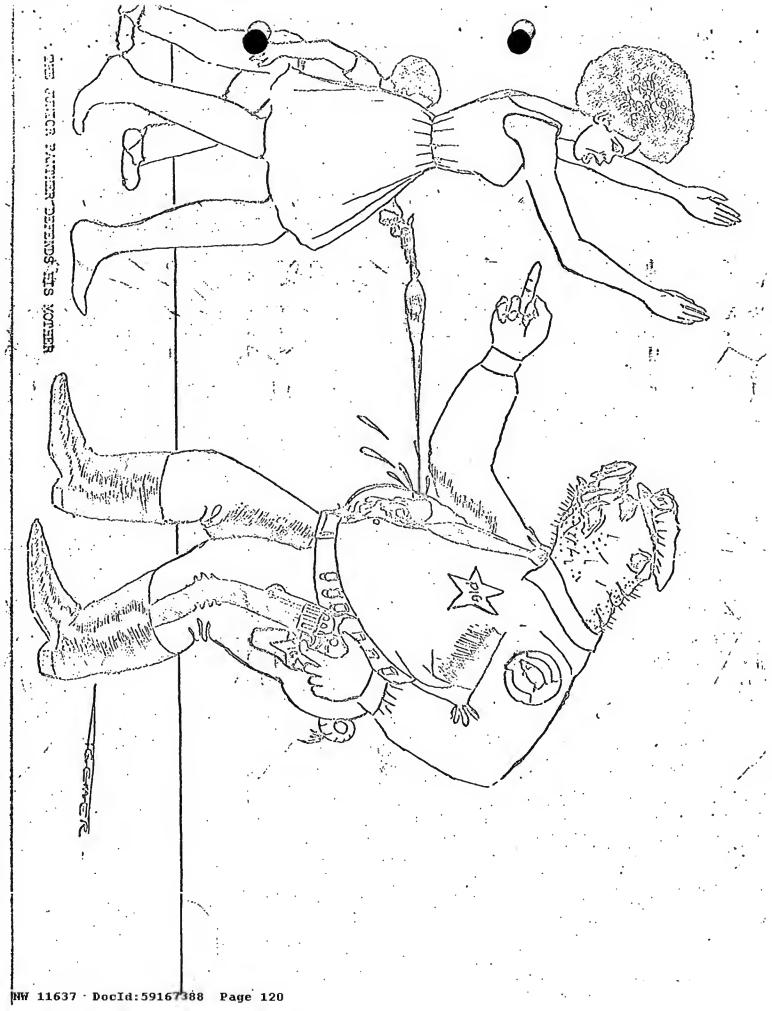


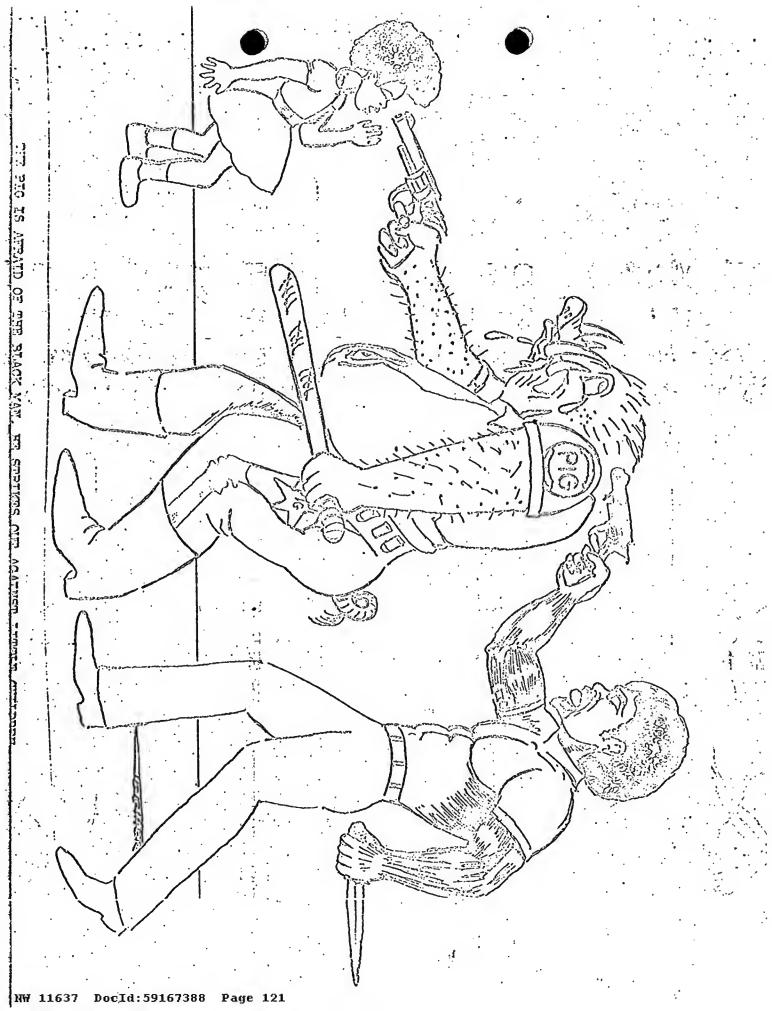


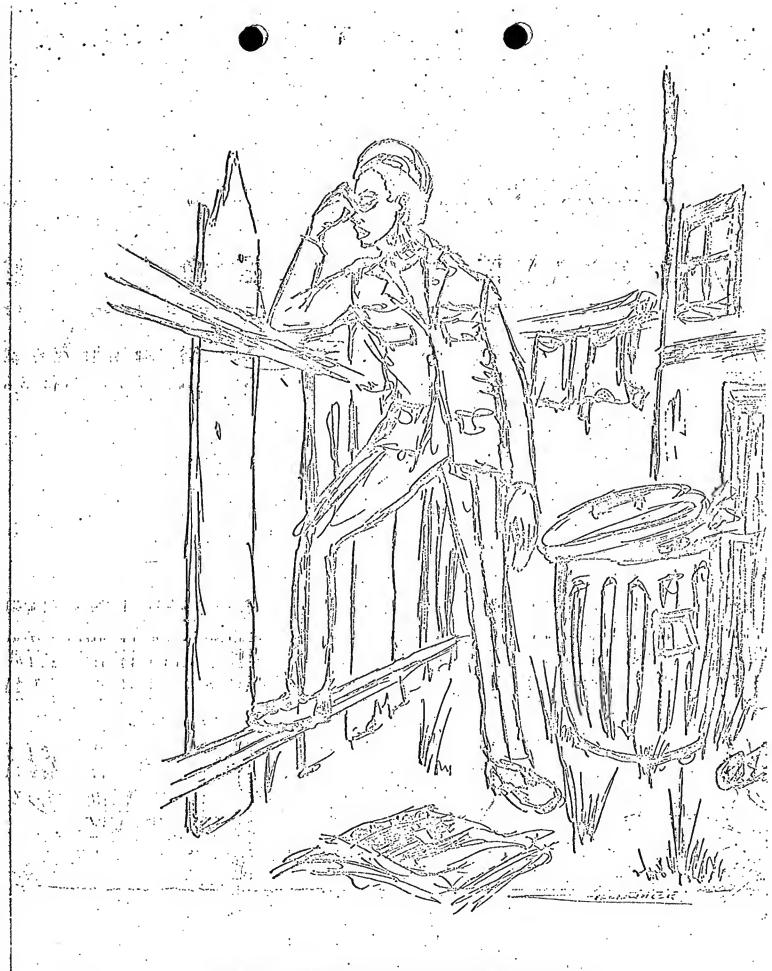


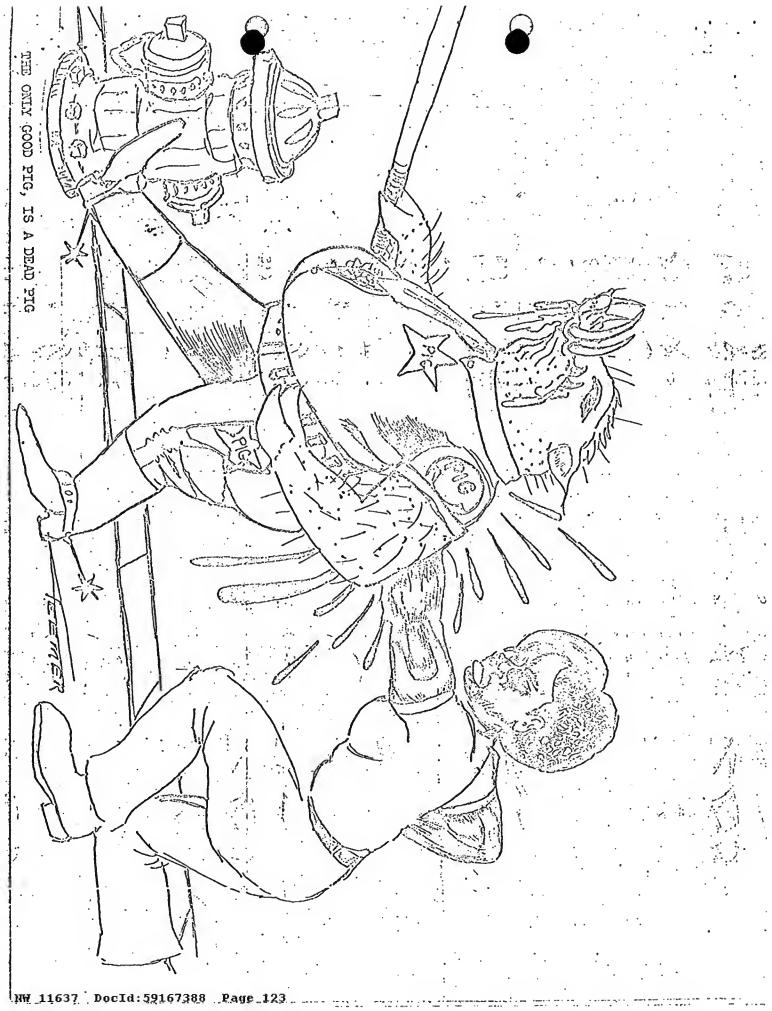
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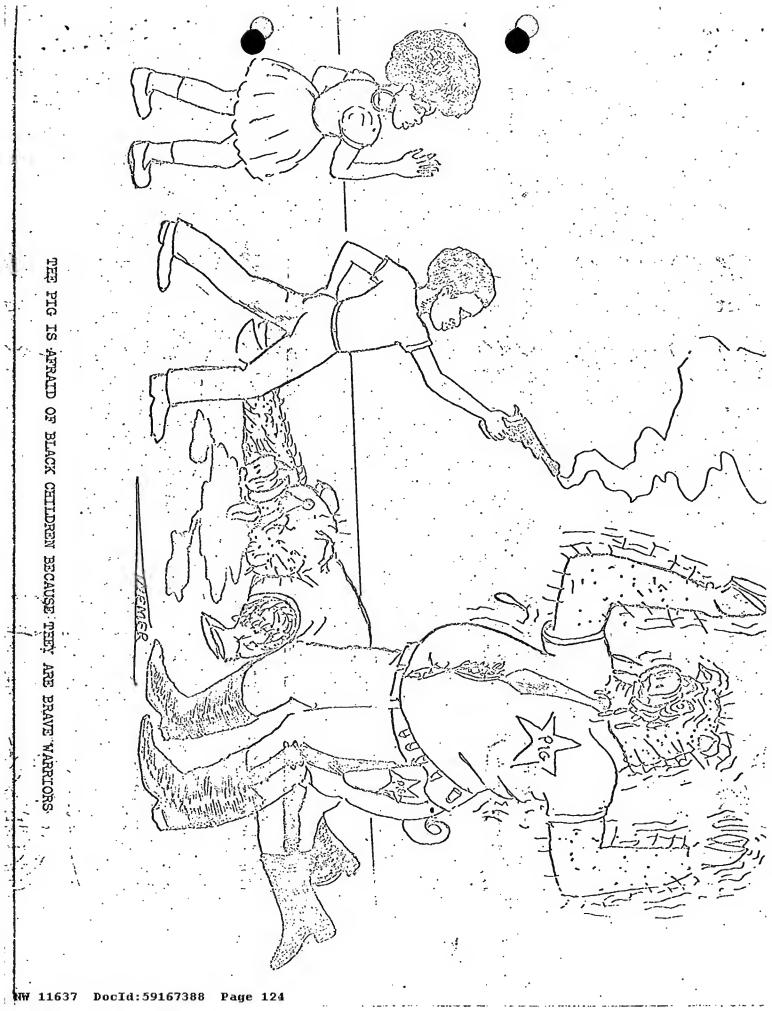


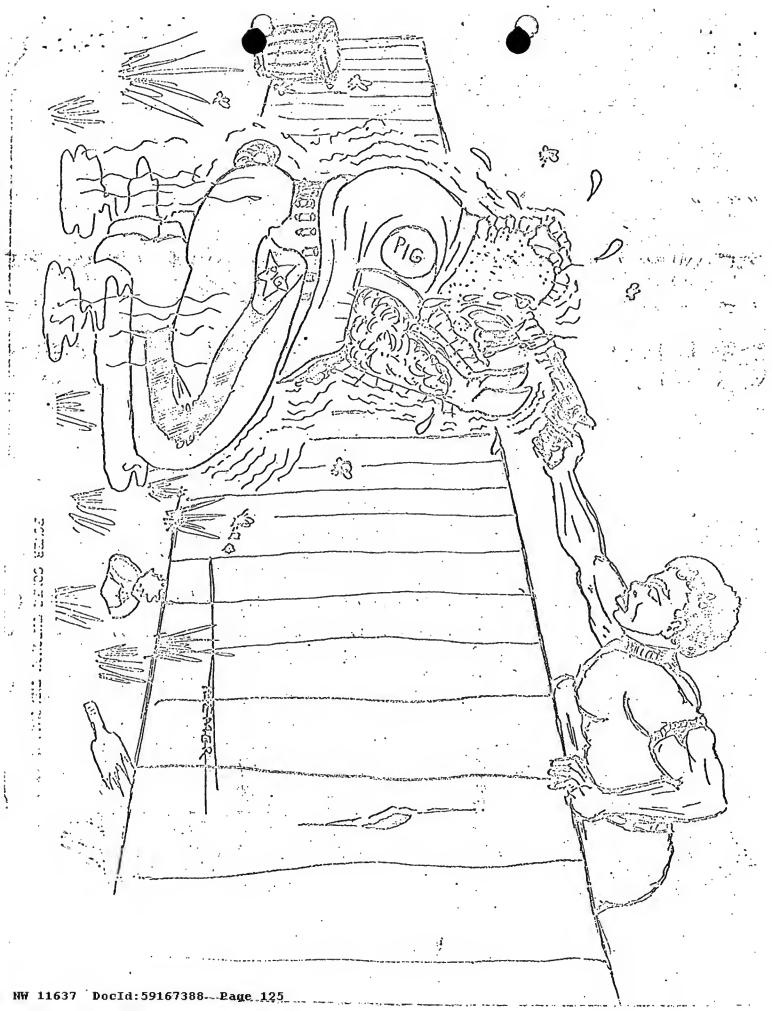














Director, FSI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM DLACK HATICHALIST - HATA GROUPS RACEAL INVESTIGENCE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

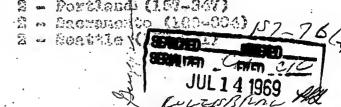
A review of the situation surrounding captioned organization discloses that the DPP appears to be in trouble, both financially and politically. The apparent causes are varied. Mamerous arrests by both local police agencies and the THI have injured not only the physical ranks of the HIP but also its lurge throughout the country. Its invincibility was Challenged and struck down as a recult of the arrests. Stokely Carmichael has resigned from the organization and has obviously taken with him a segment of Fanther support. The imacrnlity of BPP leaders David Hilliard and Bobby Sealo, and tho drinking of Scale. have contributed to a decline is morale within the national leadership.

The UPP from the very beginning has stronged the thing that the black man along shell rule, no white man was to be trusted, and no white use would ever be allowed in the organization. At this time the BPP is so desperate that it is secking alliances with white groups such as the Communist Party and the Students For a Democratic Society.

The above presente only a few of the weaknesses in the Black Panther Party throughout the country. At this time it in most imporative that we capitalize on these weeknesses. The disruption of this organization through counterintelligence. should continue and even increace as the weaknesses appear. submitting your future counterintelligence proposals, consideration should be given toward: exploiting the above venkuesces and others as they appear. The full cooperation of recipient officer is readed so that the threat posed by the DFP can be eredicated.

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Letter to SAC, San Francisco RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROJECT BLACK MATIONALIST - HATE GEOUPS 100-449006

As the DPP grew in size, and activity increased, its actions were watched by an ever increasing number of people. At that time its viclousness became apparent and its decline began. We must, therefore, concentrate our counteristelligence on the national organization in addition to the chapters. This group, like other political type organizations, depends on its public image for existence. As such, exposure can injure its image and cause disruption on a pational scale.

Director, FBI (100-448006)

7/14/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONLIST - HATE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau 6/30/69 and Bureau letter to San Francisco 7/2/69.

The Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) has in recent weeks been collecting or attempting to collect funds for the purpose of starting a Breakfast for School Children Program. At least one church has been contacted by the BPP in an attempt to obtain a place to have their breakfast program. The church advised the BPP that they would have to get the proper permits such as food handlers! permits, etc., if they wanted to use the church facilities. The church contacted was the Second Christian Church, 130 West 29th Street, Indianapolis, which is about one block from BPP Headquarters.

Inasmuch as they have contacted at least one church, it is felt they will continue to either get that church or one of the other churches near their headquarters. In referenced Bureau letter, the Bureau advised that certain articles were available for use as counterintelligence against the BPP. It is felt that since the BPP is currently trying to locate a place to have their Breakfast Program, it is felt that if a copy of each of the articles enclosed in referenced letter were sent to each of the four churches which are close to BPP Headquarters that this might have a good effect as a counterintelligence move against the BPP. It is felt by the Indianapolis Division that a quick counterintelligence move might successfully bring to a halt their attempts to establish a breakfast program. The Indianapolis Division, therefore, will be submitting a letter requesting the authority to anonymously send literature concerning the BPP Breakfast Program to the four ministers of the churches that are most likely to be used by BPP.

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TO: Director, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco dated 7/2/69.

The above-referenced letter enclosed a copy of five different articles for possible counterintelligence use. The Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) has in recent weeks been collecting, or at least attempting to collect, funds for the purpose of establishing a Breakfast Program to help clean up their image in the community. As a result, at least one church, the Second Christian Church, 130 West 29th Street, Indianapolis, has been contacted in an attempt by the BPP to locate a place to have their Breakfast Program. The church informed the BPP that if they desired to use the church kitchen and facilities that the BPP would have to get certain permits and licenses and that if the BPP would obtain them, then they would consider letting the BPP use their facilities. They have not been recontacted since that time by the BPP, but anticipate being called upon again.

It is also likely that the BPP might call upon several other churches near their headquarters in looking for a place for the Breakfast Program. It is felt that copies of the articles enclosed in referenced letter would be most helpful in discouraging these churches from allowing the BPP to use their facilities for the Breakfast Program.

The Indianapolis Division is therefore requesting four copies of each article contained in referenced letter, on

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unwatermarked paper, to be used for anonymous mailings to the following four ministers at their respective churches:

- 1. Reverend R. H. PEOPLES, Second Christian Chruch, 130 West 29th Street
  - 2. Reverend GEORGE E. RICE University Methodist Church, 2960 North Capitol Avenue
  - 3. Reverend JOHN A. KENREICH Our Savior Lutheran Church, 261 West 25th Street
  - 4. Reverend HENRY C. BELL Mt. Paran Baptist Church, 3425 Boulevard Place

These ministers are the most logical persons to be contacted by the BPP and a real look at the enclosed articles might well enlighten these men and their churches before they become committed to any agreement with the BPP. Through this counterintelligence move, the BPP in Indianapolis may have their Breakfast Program brought to a halt before ever even starting.

SAC, Pittsburgh (100-15780)

6/30/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS INTERNAL SECURITY

Re Pittsburgh airtel to Indianapolis 6/6/69, requesting information concerning ORLANDO TAYLOR.

Enclosed for Pittsburghhare 15 xerox copies of newspaper articles concerning ORLAND LEROY TAYLOR.

For information of Pittsburgh, the 1968 - 1969
"Register" of Faculty and Officers, Indiana University,
(IU), reflects ORLAND LEROY TAYLOR was Assistant Professor
of Speech (College of Arts and Sciences), IU, since 1965.
It reflects he received a Bachelor of Science Degree
from Hampton Institute, 1957, and an AM Degree, Indiana
University, 1960, and a Phd Degree from the University:
of Michigan, 1966.

In regard to the Grand Jury indictment returned against TAYLOR, JOHN O. MOSS, Attorney for TAYLOR, filed a motion to quash in Monroe County Circuit Court on 6/19/69 for the indictment consisting of one charge against TAYLOR, Cause #C69S70. The matter was set down for oral argument on 7/17/69.

### Enclosures are as follows:

1. Bloomington Tribune article 5/13/68 captioned "Tu Negroes Win Fight With Frats."

2. Daily Herald Telephone article dated 11/26/68 captioned "White Man Must Change Negro's World: Taylor."

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### IP 157-761

- 3. Indiana Daily Student article dated 11/26/68 captioned "ORLANDOTAYLOR plames racism in America on white population."
- 4. Indianapolis news article dated 12/2/68 captioned "Battler For Equality At I.V. Wins Grant."
- 5. Indiana Daily Student article dated 1/10/69 captioned "Black students plan Black Market rally; statement expected."
- 6. Indiana Daily Student article dated 1/11/69 captioned "Dr. TAYLOR won't return; takes Washington job."
- 7. Daily Herald-Telephone article dated 5/9/69 catpioned "Black Students Hold Group Hostage 3 Hours."
- 8. Courier-Tribune article dated 5/22/69 captioned "ORLANDO TAYLOR is disappointed."
- 9. Daily Herald-Telephone article dated 5/24/69 captioned "Why was Job Offier Withdrawn?" The TAYLOR Case!
- 10. Courier-Tribune article dated 5/27/69 captioned "IU council investigating ORLANDO TAYLOR offer."
- 11. Daily Herald-Telephone article dated 6/3/69 captioned "Ballantine 'Lock-In' Brings 16 Indictments."
- 12. Daily-Herald Telephone article dated 6/5/69 captioned "'Lock-In' Defendants To Plead On June 19."
- 13. Daily Herald-Telephone article dated 6/5/69 captioned "TAYLOR Is Leaving."
- captioned "Courier-Tribung artisle deted to 18/69."
- 15. Indiana Daily Student article dated 6/19/69 captioned "Attorneys will enter pleas for seven indicted students."

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(Initials)

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DIRECTOR, FBI ATT: FRI LABORATORY

BAC, SPRINGFIELD (157-802) -P-

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK HATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS PACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Springfield letter to Bureau dated 6/2/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau and surrounding offices is one copy each of two photographs described below and one copy each of interoffice memo from the Olin-Matheson Company at Alton, Illinois, concerning a powder sample identification conducted on below-described material.

For the information of surrounding offices, referenced letter advised the Bureau that on March 21, 1969, a ghetto informant of the Springfield Division made available for inspection a najority of the personal property of Springfield Agitator Index subject LARRY NATHANIEL ISAAC, which property had been abandoned by ISAAC. ISAAC is a leader in the militant Black Egyptians operating out of Springfield and East St. Louis, Illinois. Obtained as a result of the inspection of ISAAC's property were several items of counterintellidence value, including the following:

> One projectile marked "CTG 40 mm Practice M 385" and "Empty OT MA-SP-255B." This shell, which is approximately 42" long, appears to have been tempered with including the insertion of a copper colored ring around the middle of the shell. (See photo) (

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(1:157-941, ISAAC) (1:157-1029, Black Egyptians)

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(2) Three boxes weighing a total of approximately 40 pounds containing black inch-long pellets, resembling a type of insulation for copper wiring, etc., with perferations. (See photo). Of the three pellets shown in the photograph, one is on its side with a yellow stripe running lengthwise. The second has been broken in half showing the core of the pellet and is photographed from above. The third is also photographed from above but is intact.

## At a later date. another daformant,

he had seen several boxes of what he termed "compressed gunpowder." When asked to describe the items, their description exactly fit the pellets mentioned above in #2.

At that time, through an established contact of the Alton, Illinois, RA, a test was run on the pellet at the Olin-Matheson Plant in Alton, a copy of the results of which is enclosed for each office.

It is the opinion of the Springfield Division, after igniting several of the above-mentioned gunpowder pellets, that they are highly flammable and would make excellent primers or fuses for homemade type explosives. Because of their flammability, the ghetto source mentioned above, who furnished the pellets, requested they be taken from his premises, which they were, and have been stored in an appropriate storage vault at the Illinois National Guard, Camp Lincoln, Illinois.

The Bureau is requested to advise if they have received any previous inquiries concerning the above items (1 & 2), especially with reference to their being in the hands of black militants in other Field Divisions.

Receiving offices are requested, where feasible, to exhibit photographs to racial informants in an effort to determine if the use of these items is widespread by black militants.

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## Memorandum:

TO

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

DATE: 7/25/69

FROM

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Reurairtel 7/15/69 and Bulet to San Francisco 7/2/69.

Authority is granted Indianapolis to mail copies of the articles mentioned in reBulet 7/2/69 to the churches set forth in reIPairtel 7/15/69.

Indianapolis should reproduce the articles from those furnished in reBulet 7/2/69. For your information, those articles contain no identifying information and cannot be traced. The envelopes containing the articles should be commercially purchased. The addresses should be typed on a manual typewriter.

You should mix-up these articles so that there is no continuity in the mailings. Advise the Bureau of the results of the mailings.

The anonymous mailings should not be made at the same time and was time-lags should occur between the mailing to each church.

Goods Brack Th

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157-761-52

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan 59167388 Page 139

# Memorandum

TO : SAC.

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

DATE: 7-28-69

FROM

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

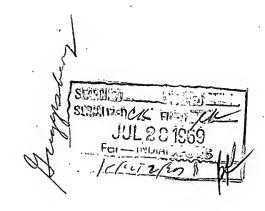
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Reurairtel 7-7-69.

The suggestion proposed by Indianapolis in reairtel has merit and will be given further consideration upon the receipt of additional information. Indianapolis should advise the Bureau as to the specific items which will be furnished Mr. Flora. In addition, Indianapolis should provide background information concerning Flora and further comment concerning his trustworthiness. Indianapolis must insure that the Bureau will never be divulged as the source of information furnished. Handle promptly.





151-761-53

7/28/69

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 7/14/69.

A coalition of the various black groups in Indianapolis initiated a breakfast program for underprivileged children. The coalition call themselves "The Black Coalition." The breakfast program has been held now for about two weeks at St. John's Missionary Baptist Church, 17th and Martindale in Indianapolis. The breakfast program is funded primarily by St. John's Missionary Baptist Church and other churches with some support from the black militant groups in Indianapolis. Members of these groups are responsible for fixing and serving the breakfast to the children. Included in these groups is the Black Panther Party.

On 3/19/69, a photograph appeared in "The Indianapolis Recorder," a local Negro owned and operated weekly newspaper. The photograph was of several Black Panther Party (BPP) members serving breakfast to some children. The caption to the photograph stated the BPP had initiated the program and gave the BPP in Indianapolis credit for the program, without mentioning the other local black groups.

On 7/25/69, Rev. ANDREW BROWN, Minister of St. John's Missionary Baptist Church, and local Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) leader was contacted. He advised that he saw the article in the newspaper giving the BPP credit for the breakfast program, and he was quite upset by it. BROWN stated that the idea for the program was put forth by another local black group, not the BPP, and a coalition of the groups was

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#### IP 157-761

responsible for operating the program. BROWN indicated he had already spoken with BPP persons working with the program and had set them straight in the fact that the Black Coalition, not the BPP, was responsible for the program. BROWN advised that the BPP was not allowed to put up posters or pictures concerning the BPP, although they had requested to do so. Also they were not allowed to speak to the children with any political or black hatred talk. The children were fed and several members of the BPP were helping to fix the food, serve and clean up after the breakfast each morning. BROWN stated this did not give the BPP a chance to talk to the youngsters. Immediately following the breakfast, the children are taught Bible stories through film strips, and Rev. BROWN.

After talking to Rev. BROWN, he stated he was not going to allow the BPP to take credit for the breakfast program or to use it for the purpose of indoctrination by the BPP. BROWN felt that since the only thing BPP members were doing was working fixing food and cleaning dishes of which he was sure they would soon get tired, he expected the BPP to soon quit participating. BROWN indicated he would like to have the program himself and felt that it would soon probably be his.

Director, FBI (100-448006)

8/11/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau 7/28/69.

On 7/30/69 it was learned from a source that LAWRENCE ROBERTS, the Minister of Finance of the BPP in Indianapolis, Indiana, had been removed from his position as Minister of Finance. According to source, ROBERTS had been removed by FRED CRAWFORD, Chairman of the BPP in Indianapolis, for the reason of "failure to produce money." ROBERTS was apparently upset about this and reported it to BPP headquarters in Berkeley, Calif. They advised that they would get in touch with ROBERTS later on.

In view of ROBERTS' present attitude toward CRAWFORD, for removing him from his position, it is felt that ROBERTS might talk to agents, where he has refused prior to this. ROBERTS will be interviewed at this time providing he is cooperative.

On 8/6/69, FRED CRAWFORD, Chairman, and RONALD BOYCE, aka "Yummie," were interviewed briefly and CRAWFORD had little to say; however, it is the first time that he has ever talked to agents and may be a step in the right direction. BOYCE, however, would say nothing.

2-Bureau (RM) Indianapolis (1-157-1061)

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157-761-6

# Memorandum

TO: SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

DATE: 8/21/69

FROM

SA LARRY L. GUGGISBERG

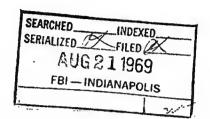
SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (EPP)



Re Bulet to Indianapolis 7/25/69.

As instructed an anonymous mailing was made of the article entitled "Breakfast for School Children" and an article "Black Panters Serving Youngsters a Diet of Food and Politics" to Rev. R.H. PEOPLES, Second Christian Church 130 West 29th STreet, Indianapolis on 7/29/69. On 8/1/69 a copy of "Panthers: A Recital of Fear and Crime" was mailed to the same church.

On 8/6/69, copies of "The Black Panther Coloring Book, and the article "Black Panthers Serving Youngsters a Diet of Food and Politics were mailed to Rev. GEORGE E. RICE, University Methodist Church, 2960 N. Capitol Avenue, Indianapolis. The mailing was followed by another mailing on 8/8/69 of the article "Panthers: A Recital of Fear and Crime."

On 8/8/69, a copy of each of the articles, "Breakfast For School Children," We want an end to the Robbery by the White Man of the Black Community", and "Black Panther Revolutionary Wedding" along with a copy of "Panthers: A Recital of Fear and Crime" were mailed to Rev. JOHN A. KENREICH, Our Savior Lutheran Church, 251 W. 25th St., Indianapolis, on successive days following the 8th of August, the last mailing occuring on 8/13/69.

A copy of "Black Panthers Serving Youngsters a Diet of Food and Politics", coupled with a copy of "The Black Panther Coloring Book", were sent to Rev. HENRY C. BELL, Mt. Paran Baptist Church, 3425 Boulevard Place, Indianapolis, on 8/18/69. On 8/21/69, a final mailing was made to Rev. BELL at which time a copy of "Panthers: A recital of Fear and Crime" was mailed.



The results have been that the BPP in Indianapolis had to cross the city to find a location for a breakfast program and it ran only about two weeks, with the help of other groups. The BPP was not in control of the program and were unable to do any speaking to the children, or put up posters and were given the job of washing dishes.

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Director, FBI (100-448006)

8/25/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)(P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 8/11/69.

On 8/14/69, an attempt to interview LAWRENCE ROBERTS, former Minister of Finance of the BPP in Indianapolis, was made after locating him on Indiana Avenue, in Indianapolis while he was walking down the street. ROBERTS, however, refused to be interviewed or to talk with agents, was totally uncooperative and advised agents to leave him alone. WILLIE MACK HAWKINS, BPP member and STANFORD PATTON, JR., former Minister of Education were also contacted on 8/12/69 and an attempt to tak with them was met with uncooperativeness and hostility.

On 8/19/69, FRED CRAWFORD, Chairman of the BPP in Indianapolis, Indiana, telephonically contacted this office at which time he stated a number of the members had advised him they had been contacted by the FB I, and CRAWFORD stated just because he had talked with agents did not mean the other members would and the FBI was just wasting its time trying to talk with BPP members. CRAWFORD also advised in this conversation he would be resigning from the BPP soon.

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The Indianapolis Division plans to continue to attempt to interview members of the BPP, as the BPP in Indianapolis is having internal troubles and conflict among officers and members and talking with members or attempting to do so keeps them suspicious of each other.

Director, FBI (100-448006)

8/29/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

A succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in the Indianapolis Division follows:

# A. Nation of Islam (NOI)

The NOI in the Indianapolis Division presently has approximately 160 members, which is a slight increase since the date of the last letter. Temple Number 31 in South Bend, Indiana, continues to be the largest having about 70 to 80 members. Mosque Number 33 at Gary, Indiana, is the second largest with 40 members, and Muhammad's Mosque in Indianapolis is third largest with 27 members. Muhammad's Temple, East Chicago, Indiana, has six members; Muhammad's Temple in Evansville, Indiana, has five to six members; Muhammad's Mosque of Islam in Fort Wayne, Indiana, has five to six members, while Muhammad's Mosque in Muncie, Indiana, is no longer meeting for lack of a meeting place. The exact number of members presently in Muncie, Indiana is unknown. Each of the mosques or temples averages from four to seven visitors in addition to the members at their meetings.

There are only two designated temples in the State of Indiana those being Temple No. 31 in South Bend, and Mosque No. 33 in Gary, Indiana. Known Muslim businesses now operate at Muncie, and Indianapolis, Indiana. All of the leaders of the temples and mosques in the Indianapolis Division continue to adhere to the teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, their leader and

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preach according to the following: the white race has upset the peace of the Aboriginal People by exploitation, robbery, murder and death, inasmuch as it is the nature in which they were made; that the only white people who are allowed to use one of the names of ALLAH (GOD) are those who have accepted Islam; that under Christianity the black brothers and sisters will not go to heaven, but under Allah, you will have heaven right here on earth.

No known or proposed violence or problems have been caused by the NOI in the Indianapolis Division and their potential does not seem a threat at this time. There is always a possibility however that the NOI might change due to some incident and cause trouble although not expected.

### B. Radical Action Project (RAP)

The Radical Action Project (RAP), also known as the Black Radical Action Project, is located at 2264 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. The RAP is presently without funds, and the organization as such has become essentially defunct. Only two individuals, CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS, Chairman of RAP, and WILLIAM A. CRAWFORD, Organizer of RAP, remain with the organization and they operate the Afro-American Bookstore which is owned by RAP. The bookstore is kept open by them and occupies most of their time even though the bookstore is not making money. Both individuals are in a bad way for funds for personal use and HENDRICKS anticipates soon going to jail for non-support.

HENDRICKS has been speaking at various rallies, etc., and has been pushing for unity among the black groups and their white allies, but has been unsuccessful in uniting the groups. RAP has operated within the existing legal structure and to date has posed no real threat of violence. It presently appears RAP will fold in the near future without funds.

### C. Black Panther Party (BPP)

The BPP in Indianapolis operates from its headquarters at 113 West 30th Street, and persists in being the most active of the black extremist groups in Indianapolis at least with a potential for violence. FRED CRAWFORD, remains as Chairman of the BPP in Indianapolis; however, he will soon be serving a sentence in San Francisco, California, for contempt of court. In addition, he has an assault and battery charge against him by the Indianapolis Police Department. STANFORD PATTON, Jr. is no clonger Minister of Education and has been suspended from the BPP. LAWRENCE ROBERTS, Minister of Finance, has been removed from his position by CRAWFORD. The BPP in Indianapolis has approximately 15 active members.

The BPP has had problems financially since their inception in Indianapolis and they presently have a conflict in the Chapter over misuse of funds, violation of BPP rules by members, and personality conflicts among leaders. As a result, the Indianapolis Chapter is in a state of confusion and members show distrust towards each other. The Chapter has requested assistance from National BPP Headquarters and two individuals from the Chicago Chapter of the BPP have been sent to Indianapolis to help with settling disputes and problems and to report to National Headquarters.

The BPP in Indianapolis, along with a coalition of the black groups in Indianapolis, has started a Breakfast for School Children Program, however the BPP has not been allowed to teach BPP ideas and doctrine to the children and are not allowed to put up posters, etc. by the other groups.

The BPP have not been responsible for any trouble in Indianapolis to date; however, it is still felt that they possess the most potential for violence of any of the black groups. The BPP is followed regularly in a bi-weekly intelligence letter.

### 1. Operations Under Consideration

Interviewing all members of black extremist organizations, active and inactive members alike, will be continued, as it is felt that this is the most productive method of producing possible informants as well as a way of learning information of value for intelligence purposes. While the BPP as a rule will not talk to agents and little success has been recognized in recent attempts to interview BPP members, it does keep the leaders of the BPP worried and unsure if someone is talking to the FBI and they do not know about it. Interview of the members also serves as a way to help determine the feeling in the black community and to help evaluate individuals potential for violence.

### 2. Operations Being Effected

Refinancing of RAP by the Episcopal Church was discouraged and any sources of funds for RAP are being discouraged causing RAP to continue in their financial troubles. Anonymous mailings of several articles on the BPP breakfast program and organization along with the BPP Coloring Book were made to several ministers in the black community near BPP Headquarters to help discourage their support of a Breakfast for School Children Program run by the BPP.

In addition in all interviews attempts to intensify the jealousy among various organizations and members are played upon. This is serving to keep the black groups from uniting whereby they might pose a more serious threat to the peace and safety of the community.

# 3. Tangible Results

BAP is suffering from lack of funds and will logically be folding in the near future. The BPP, along with the black coalition, which is a group of black organizations, have started a Breakfast Program, however the BPP has been allowed only to help fix food and to clean up after the breakfast, and can not teach the children or display any posters, etc.,

IP 157-761

concerning the BPP. In addition, the Chairman of the BPP, FRED CRAWFORD, has expressed concern that attempts to interview members of the BPP are continually being made, and a distrust and conflict has arisen among members of the BPP.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Same as those listed immediately above.

Director, FBI (100-448006)

9/9/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau 8/25/69.

FRED CRAWFORD, Chairman of the Black Panther Party (BPP), Indianapolis, Indiana, has been contacted on several occasions by Agents of this Division. It is noted that CRAWFORD is presently appealing his conviction for Contempt of Court in connection with case entitled "LOUIS RANDOLPH WILLIAMS, aka ET AL, ARL", OO: SF, Bufile: 176-1301.

On 9/4/69, CRAWFORD contacted SA LARRY L. GUGGISBERG and advised at this time that he wished to cooperate fully with the FBI and that he wanted to purge himself of his Contempt of Court violation. Prior to this time, CRAWFORD had been extremely unwilling to converse with Agents; however, during most recent contacts, he had become increasingly receptive. CRAWFORD stated on 9/4/69 that he would be willing to answer any questions put to him by the courts and would also "make the FBI's job easier" in regard to current investigation of the BPP in Indianapolis.

FOIA(b)3 - Rule 6(e), Grand Jury

The Indianapolis Division feels that information to be provided by FOIA(b)(7) - (D) regarding the BPP, Indianapolis, will be of great value in the counterintelligence program and Indianapolis will evaluate this information when received.

Bureau (RM)
Indianapolis
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157-1261-58A

# Memorandum

ro / : SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

DATE: 9-12-69

FROM

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

BUDED 9-24-69

ReBulet to San Francisco dated 7-11-69 captioned as above and Buairtel to SAC, Albany, 9-4-69 captioned "Black Extremist Group Recruiting Ex-Black Panther Party Members, Racial Matters."

ReBulet to San Francisco 7-11-69 pointed out that the BPP appeared to be in trouble both financially and politically. It also pointed out that the BPP was so desperate it was seeking alliances with such white groups as the Communist Party and the Students for a Democratic Society. Recipient offices were instructed to consider the exploitation of the weaknesses of the BPP in the Counterintelligence Program.

Since relet, the BPP has and is attempting to complete an alliance with various white groups. In addition, referenced airtel 9-4-69 points out that an ex-BPP member is about to announce the formation of a new Party on 9-12-69 in Washington, D. C. Members are to be recruited from ex-BPP members. This information supports the previously received information that the BPP is in trouble.

Each office receiving this communication should advise the Bureau by 9-24-69 what positive steps have been taken to

- 2 Baltimore (157-2520)
- 2 Boston (157-654)
- 2 Chicago (157-2209)
  - Detroit (157-3214)
    - Indianapolis (157-61)
- 2 Kansas City (100-12448)
- 2 Los Angeles (157-1751)

- 2 Newark (100-49654)
- 2 New Haven (157-785)
- 2 New York (100-161140)
- 2 Omaha (157-272) /57-76/-3
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- 2 Sacramento (SERAH81)40 FILT
- 2 Seattle (157-721**SEP 15 1969**

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Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
100-448006

exploit the weaknesses of the BPP since referenced letter to San Francisco. In addition, specific concrete proposals should be considered concerning the formation of a new organization made up of ex-BPP members. Specific proposals should be forwarded to the Bureau for consideration and approval. No specific action should be taken without prior Bureau approval. Such things as the expulsion of BPP leaders because of their association with ex-BPP members should be considered. The participation of each office is expected and necessary in order that the BPP organization is thoroughly disrupted.

9/22/69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)(P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM-BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, dated 9/9/69.

FRED CRAWFORD, Chairman of the Black Panther Party in Indianapolis has been contacted on several occasions by Agents of the Indianapolis Division. CRAWFORD had a contempt of court charge pending appeal in connection with case entitled "LOUIS RANDOLPH WILLIAMS, aka ET AL, ARL", OO: San Francisco, Bufile: 176-1301.

prior to the month of August, 1969, CRAWFORD had not talked with Agents of this Division. During August, however, CRAWFORD was contacted at least twice at which time he was willing to talk with Agents and being more receptive. As a result CRAWFORD ended up conacting this office on 9/4/69 and advising he wanted to purge himself of contempt of court charges and he would cooperate with the FBI.

FOIA(b)3 - Rule 6(e), Grand Jury

On 9/20/69, CRAWFORD made a public statement to be released to all news media on 9/22/69, to the effect

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that he was resigning as Deputy Chairman of the Indianapolis Chapter of the BPP as he could no longer go slong with the BPP ideology. He went on to state that he felt that he could better serve the black community through non-violent means and through non-violent programs.

FOIA(b)3 - Rule 6(e), Grand Jury

9/23/69

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

(Buded: 9/24/69)

ReBulet to SF 9/12/69, and Bulet to SF 7/11/69.

Exploiting the weaknesses of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Indianapolis Division has been done in several ways since receipt of referenced Bureau letter 7/11/69. Some of the weaknesses exploited include: (1) financial, (2) suspicion of one member for another, and (3) exposing BPP programs.

The first weakness of the BPP was that of financial, which was dealt with in several ways. The BPP in Indianapolis has always had financial problems, and has been continually low or overdrawn in their bank account which has been monitored by the Indianapolis Office. Since it was determined the BPP did have financial problems, it was learned the BPP owed the Indiana Bell Telephone Company for several months of telephone service, and Indiana Bell was encouraged to remove the service from BPP Headquarters. The service was in fact cut off at BPP Headquarters on or about 9/15/69.

In addition, the BPP has been receiving their office space rent free, but are now faced with relocating as the owner of the building is selling the property. The owner, who is selling, has been encouraged to move the BPP out as soon as possible and without funds, the BPP has been unable to locate another site for their headquarters, and will be put out of their present headquarters any day.

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Other weaknesses that have been capitalized on include interviews of members wherein jealousy among the members has been stimulated and at the same time has caused a number of persons to fall under suspicion and be purged from the Party. Along with interviewing these members, FRED CRAWFORD, Chairman of the BPP in Indianapolis, was finally interviewed in August 1969, after many previous attempts had failed.

FOIA(b)3 - Rule 6(e), Grand Jury

CRAWFORD also is holding a press conference on 9/23/69 and renouncing the BPP and resigning as Chairman of the BPP in Indianapolis. His leaving the BPP has taken a number of members with him who had been considering leaving, but were staying because he was staying. As a result of his leaving the BPP is faced with losing their leader and a number of members, having to locate a new headquarters and obtain funds by some means. CRAWFORD also has furnished information concerning the remaining members and the past history of the Indianapolis Chapter.

The BPP in Indianapolis also attempted to start a Breakfast for School Children Program and anonymous mailings were made to ministers of churches in the area of the BPP Headquarters, and they were not allowed to establish a program in that area. They did go to the other side of town and in conjunction with several other organizations, set up a breakfast program; however, the individual with whom they obtained the facilities was contacted by the Indianapolis Office, and he in turn, did not let the BPP put up any photos or posters and did not let the BPP talk to the children about the BPP program or teach hate. As a result the BPP soon dropped out of the program and left it with the other organizations to operate.

The BPP in Indianapolis is now in a precarious position in a struggle for existence and their new Chairman is a former BPP member who was purged and now has been asked to come back by the remaining few members. CRAWFORD, the former Chairman, advises that the BPP National Headquarters will most likely not approve their choice as Chairman, and someone will be sent from National Headquarters to run the Chapter. If National Headquarters does not send someone, CRAWFORD advises the Chapter is likely to fold in Indianapolis in the near future.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

10/6/69

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re IP letter to Bureau dated 9/22/69.

On 9/28/69, it was learned that three members of the Chicago Chapter of the BPP were in Indianapolis and they had taken over the Indianapolis Chapter and stripped the officers of their rank. The members from Chicago included JEWEL L. COOK, WILLIE J. CALVIN and CLEVELAND L. COOK, brother of JEWEL. The Indianapolis Police Department, Special Investigations Division, was made aware of the presence of the three members from Chicago and furnished photos and descriptions of the three. The IPD in turn watched closely the activities of the three and the BPP in Indianapolis.

As a matter of counterintelligence interest, the three Chicago members were arrested by the IPD while in the act of placing a battery in their car which they had just stolen from a parked car. The three were charged with OAPA, Larceny, and CLEVELAND COOK was arrested for violation of the 1935 Firearms Act as a gun was found in the glove compartment of the car which was registered to CLEVELAND COOK. All three were held on bond; CLEVELAND on \$7,500 surety bond, and CALVIN and JEWEL on \$3,500 surety bond. They have a court date set for 10/10/69.

The BPP in Indianapolis is in a more increased state of confusion due to the arrest of the Chicago members who had taken over the Chapter and they presently have only about five or six active members, at most.

2 - Bureau (RM) 2 - Indianapolis (1 -157-1061)

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10/20/69

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re IP letter to Bureau dated 10/6/69.

The Indianapolis Division is continuing to interview members of the BPP who are willing to talk to the FBI, who are few in number. One of the members who had been very active at one time, but whose activity had tapered off, was interviewed. During this interview, he was cooperative and he indicated he might be interested in furnishing information to the FBI. He has been contacted on several occasions since that time, at which time he has furnished valuable information and he is now a potential racial informant with very good potential.

The new Chairman of the BPP in Indianapolis, ROBERT O'BANNON, was also interviewed, at which time he talked to Agents. While he was not cooperative to the extent that he would become an informant, he did furnish some information through his conversation which was of value. In addition, since the BPP has had a policy of not talking to Agents in Indianapolis, and O'BANNON is a former purged member, it served to cause distrust from some of the BPP members toward O'BANNON. Some of these members were already somewhat suspicious of O'BANNON and his talking to Agents gave them more reason to look at him with distrust. O'BANNON is the new Chairman; however, DONALD CAMPBELL, Minister of Defense, actually runs the Indianapolis Chapter. CAMPBELL has already made comments indicating he is not sure of O'BANNON and any attempts to encourage conflict between the two will be capitalized on.

2 - Bureau (RM)
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(1 - 157-1061)
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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

11/3/69

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 10/20/69.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

a security conference or meeting on the weekend of November 1 and 2, 1939, at Chicago, Illinois. The source advised that the meeting was however moved back and was to be held on November 4, 1969, and last for two or three days.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Indianapolis will attempt to utilize this informant in whatever way possible as a means of counterintelligence against the BPP. Pertinent results of the meeting in Chicago will be submitted upon the return and report from informant.

2 Bureau (RM)

1 Chicago (Info) (RM)

2- Indianapolis (1- 157-1081)

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# ${\it Memorandum}$

TO : SAC Baltimore

11-3-69 DATE:

FROM V: Director, FBI

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Recent communications received at the Bureau indicate that various BPP branches are forwarding taped reports to national BPP headquarters at San Francisco. In an effort to determine if this procedure will lend itself to successful counterintelligence operations, it is requested that the recipient offices determine the following.

- If BPP branches in your territory are sending reports on tape to national headquarters or to other branches,
- 2. If tapes are generally dictated by the same person, if so, who?
- 3. The extent of use, that is, are tapes sent on a regular basis or sporadically. If regularly, are they sent out on a particular day of the week?
- 4. Full description of tape utilized including brand, size, etc.

1 - Boston

1 - Chicago

1 - Cleveland

1 - Denver

- Detroit

- Indianapolis

T - Kansas City

1 - Los Angeles

1 - Milwaukee

1 - Minneapolis

1 - Newark

- New Haven

1 - New York

1 - Oklahoma City

1 - Omaha

1 - Philadelphia

1 - Portland

1 - Sacramento

1 - San Diego

1 - San Francisco

1 - Seattle

1 - Springfield

157-761-65 SEARCHED SERIALIZED\_ NOV 0 5 1969



Letter to SAC, Baltimore

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

- 5. Method of packaging, addressing and mailing. In this connection it would be helpful to know if protective packaging is utilized or whether regularly available commercial mailing carton is used.
- 6. Any other available information regarding the handling of these tapes.

The use of tapes for transmitting reports to national headquarters suggests the counterintelligence possibility of preparing and mailing tapes containing disruptive, erroneous information. Also under certain circumstances it may be feasible to erase or distort these tapes making them valueless to the recipient.

Comments of recipient offices concerning these or other possibilities which they may suggest themselves are invited.

Handle promptly and furnish results to Bureau and San Francisco.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

11/17/69

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re IP letter to Bureau, 11/3/69.

Indianapolis Division, advised that the security conference to be held in Chicago, Illinois on 11/4/69, was canceled, according to what DONALD CAMPBELL, Minister of Defense, Indianapolis Chapter, had learned. Plans to utilize [OIA(b)(7) - [D]) a counterintelligence move as a result of that conference, therefore, were not possible.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Indianapolis will continue to interview current BPP members, as well as some of the past members who have either dropped out or who were previously purged. Through these interviews, attempt to discourage new members as well as develop intelligence information and possibly new informants is anticipated as a counterintelligence move.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (Info)(RM)
2 - Indianapolis
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157-761-66

Director, FBI (100-448006)

12/1/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COMPANY NEWS

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Authority: (2) 35219
By: NAMA Date: 9/19/13
F8] Anto Declas

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 11/17/69.

The BPP in Indianapolis has been in need of financial assistance in recent weeks and has been hard pressed for sources of funds. According to informant, FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D) the BPP has been interested in obtaining funds so they could travel more throughout the state and to Louisville, Kentucky, where interest in the BPP has been shown.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

As a result, the BPP is still in the position of no real financing, and has been unable to do the amount of traveling that they desire to do. It is felt that if the BPP continues to suffer from lack of funds and is unable to travel, obtaining further funds will be more difficult and may discourage the present active followers of the BPP in Indianapolis.

Any situations which represent a potential for use as a counterintelligence move will be utilized, through sources or other means in an attempt to discourage any progress by the BPP in Indianapolis. The BPP in Indianapolis is experiencing little success in obtaining new members or generating interest in the BPP, and a continuation of such a situation without funds might well put an end to the BPP in Indianapolis.

2 - Bureau (RM)
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NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 165

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Director, FEI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTULLIGENCE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBulet 11-3-69.

Referenced letter requested information concerning mailing of tapes from various BPP branches to BPP headquarters at San Francisco. To date, the Bureau is not in receipt of response from recipient offices listed in instant letter.

Those offices which have not done so, submit reply within three days of receipt of this communication.

I-Cloveland

1-Denver

1-Detroit

1) Indianapolis

1-Kansas City

1-Los Angeles

1-Milwaukee

L-Newark

1-New Haven

1-New York

1-Oklahoma City.

1-Omaha

1-Portland

1-Sacramento

1-San Francisco

1-Seattle

1-Springfield

157-10-68

W 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 166

12/11/69

Director, FBI

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReBulet to BA, 11/3/69; and Bulet to CG, 12/5/69.

Informants familiar with BPP activities in the Indianapolis Chapter advise the use of tapes for sending reports, etc. has not been utilized by the Indianapolis Chapter. In addition, sources report that they are not familiar with any such procedure by any other Chapters of the Party, if such procedure exists.

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1 - Indianapolis

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157-76-69

Director, FBI (100-448006)

12/15/69

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

CONTINUE

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Authority: RD 35219
By: SNC NAFA Date: 9/19/13
FBI Anto Declass

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau 12/1/69.

The Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP), is in the process of being moved by their landlord. The owner of the building in which their headquarters is located has been donating same to the BPP but has sold that property and has advised them they will have to move. The owner, however, has advised them that they could have a rundown house located at 2816 North Illinois Street, Indianapolis, Indiana, which he also owns, but they will have to repair and fix the building up. In that regard, they lack tools and money as well as knowledge in such a job. They have called upon members of the white New Left groups to help them, and one such member who was called on is presently an informant of the Indianapolis Division.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

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12/29/69

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)



Re IP letter to Bureau, 12/15/69.

Counterintelligence against the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Indianapolis has been recently the utilization of informant,

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

One such paper furnished was titled, "General Guideline for Functional Setup of Communications" and contained instructions for both State and Branch Level functions, from National Headquarters. This paper is being furnished to the Bureau by another communication.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

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Authority: RD 35 219
By: SVL NARA Date: 12/19/13
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1/6/70

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re IP letter to Bureau dated 8/29/69.

A succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in the Indianapolis Division follows:

### A. Nation of Islam (NOI)

The NOI in the Indianapolis Division remains rather constant and stable in the number of members and the activities of the different temples and mosques. There are seven mosques or temples in the State of Indiana, with two of those being numbered, or designated. The two designated are Temple #31 in South Bend, Indiana (the largest in the state with 70 to 80 members) and Mosque #33 at Gary, Indiana, the second largest with approximately 40 members. The third largest mosque is in Indianapolis with 27 members. The other mosques or temples located at East Chicago, Evansville, Fort Wayne, and Muncie, Indiana, each have about five or six members. Each of the temples and mosques averages about four to seven visitors in addition to members attending their meetings.

The NOI has engaged in few activities other than the holding of their regular meetings and the sale of "Muhammad Speaks", their newspaper. The NOI has caused no known trouble in the Indianapolis Division, and they have not been known to propose any violence or be a threat to the peace in the state. While they have not been a problem, the NOI could, at any time, change due to some unforeseen incident and pose a threat although none is evident at the present.

# B. Radical Action Project (RAP)

The Radical Action Project (RAP), also known as the Black Radical Action Project, is being moved from their present head-quarters at 2264 North Meridian, Indianapolis, Indiana, unless funds are received in the next week or two, as they are not able to pay the rent on their building. The organization has become defunct

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except for CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS, Chairman of RAP. WILLIAM A. CRAWFORD, the person titled Organizer of RAP, has secured another position and will seldom be around to help with the bookstore which RAP operates. The bookstore which seels black and Afro-American literature, occupies the time of HENDRICKS when it is open, and the bookstore has now been closed for about two weeks. The bookstore still does not show a profit and continues to accumulate debts.

It is rumored that HENDRICKS may go to Detroit, Michigan, where his father resides, and go into business with his father. If so, RAP will completely be dissolved. If HENDRICKS decides to stay in Indianapolis, he will have to obtain funds which he has been unsuccessful in doing or RAP will be forced to dissolve; thus, either way, RAP appears to be doomed in the very near future.

### C. Black Panther Party (BPP)

The BPP in Indianapolis continues to operate from its headquarters at 113 West 30th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. It is understood the BPP will be forced to move from that location very soon. The present Chairman in Indianapolis is ROBERT O'BANNON, and the Minister of Defense is DONALD CAMPBELL. In addition to those two individuals, they only have about three or four other active members. The BPP in recent weeks has been working fairly closely with various Black Student Union groups or representatives on the college and university campuses across the State of Indiana.

The BPP has been a relatively calm organization in the Indianapolis Division compared to the BPP in other sections of the country, in that they have caused no real problems and have not been involved in any violence to date. It is felt, however, that the BPP continues to be the group in the Indianapolis Division who possess the most potential for violence of any of the Black Extremist groups. The BPP is followed regularly in a bi-weekly intelligence letter.

## 1. Operations Under Consideration

Inasmuch as Black Nationalist groups have caused little trouble in the Indianapolis Division, it is felt that the most effective method of combatting these groups is by getting to know the individuals involved and letting them know that you are aware of their activities. This can best be done through interviews with all members, both active and inactive, of the different groups. Interviews can serve several purposes; namely, gaining of intelligence

#### IP 157-761

information, help in selecting someone who has informant potential, and encouraging some persons to drop out of an organization. In addition, it serves to cast suspicion on certain persons interviewed if it is desired to do so, so that the organization may distrust them. Most Black Extremist groups will talk to Agents, although they may not say anything of value, except members of the BPP have been very hesitant to talk with Agents. Attempts to interview them have been of value; however, this serves to make members uneasy and leaders worried about whether they have penetration within their organization. Interviewing members will be continued as it has been the most successful method to date by members of the Indianapolis Division.

### 2. Operations Being Effected

All support of RAP has been discouraged and reconsideration by the Episcopal Church in New York City, New York of refunding the RAP was discouraged through local sources; thus, causing RAP to become closer and closer to its inevitable end. In the BPP informants have been utilized to obtain orders and correspondence, etc.; thereby, enabling closer scrutiny of BPP activities and leadership. Jealousy among all of the Black Nationalist groups is continually played upon in interviews and discussions with various individuals and leaders of the different groups helping to keep the various groups from uniting their efforts. This has been successful and is felt one of the largest reasons that the Indianapolis Division has not seen more violence and threats from the Black Nationalist groups to date.

# 3. Tangible Results

RAP is drawing closer and closer to its dissolving and has become completely ineffective in the Black community. The NOI has caused no problems to date and have remained essentially the same strength without being able to make any large accomplishments in growth or any other area. The BPP now has only about five active members with no large support from the Black community or from other Black Militant groups; as a result, everything they have done has been discouraging to the BPP. Funds have been hard to secure and getting anyone to come to one of their rallies gets more and more difficult.

# 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None other than those listed above and those reported in the bi-weekly intelligence letter concerning the BPP.

1/12/70

DÎRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re IP letter to Bureau, 12/29/69.

Utilization of the services of FOIA(b)(7) - (D) for counterintelligence purposes has been continued with informant

an attempt to interview all members within the next two weeks is being considered. Those interviewed will include several persons who have only indicated an interest, and attempts to explore their potential for development as an informant will be made and if no potential is evident, all attempts to discourage any activity on their part will be exerted.

The BPP in Indianapolis has very few members; in fact, only about five active members at the present time. It is felt that if new members can be discouraged, the BPP will continue to have very little influence or respect in the black community. Since they are presently seeking new members, interviewing those presently considering membership with the BPP, will cause those persons to be scrutinized by present BPP leaders when learned they were contacted by Agents. It is hoped this will serve to cause further distrust among members in the organization.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

1/26/70

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau, 1/12/70.

For the purpose of counterintelligence against the Black Panther Party (BPP), several of the members of the Indianapolis Chapter, including the chairman, were interviewed. The interview with the chairman served little value from an intelligence viewpoint, but it did arouse their curiosity as to why they were being interviewed. It also served to scare several didividuals and to cause the leaders further fear that some member might talk.

In addition to interviewing members, a surveillance was placed on BPP Headquarters on a particular day when it was known through informants that a trip was being planned by three or four of the leaders. The surveillance was purposely conducted indiscretely so it would be observed by the BPP. The surveillance was made as hoped and as a result the members called off their trip and fully expected a raid on their headquarters. Informants advised that the BPP leaders were extremely scared by the surveillance and even called the Chicago BPP Chapter advising them that they felt they were about to be raided.

For such counterintelligence purposes, possible future surveillances of individuals and of Headquarters may be considered as a result of positive results from the above.

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Director, FBI (100-448006) 2/24/70

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau 1/26/70.

As a matter of counterintelligence interest,

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

This has helped in determining. applicants for membership, sympathizers with the BPP, as well as helping in regard to activities being planned and orders being received from National Headquarters.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

In addition, members of the BPP locally are contacted frequently in attempts to interview them, sometimes with no success and other times with some measure of success. chairman, ROBERT O'BANNON, has now talked toagents on several occasions and will continue to be contacted in the future in hope that his cooperation might be secured.

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CLASSIFIED BY EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDUL OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 1165Z EXEMPTION CATEGORY AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON

Persons who are giving consideration to following a recent trend of inviting a Panther to a party should be sure and check the guest's credentials to insure that he is a bona-fide Panther. If this little item is not taken care of the host may be in for an uproarious time.

On last Friday evening in Concord, Massachusetts, the Concord Fair Practices Committee, a group proud of its liberal stand on issues, scheduled Dr. Finley Campbell the recipient of a doctorate from the University of Chicago, to speak on the Black Panthers. Advance advertising described him as a Black Panther and a professor at Wabash College, Indiana, as well as the head of the Black Student Union Advisory Council at the college.

Campbell, in his talk to the 95% white Concord group, revealed himself as an adept apologist for the Black Panther Party relating how the Panthers around the country have been beleaguered by local and federal authorities and at the same time glossing over the crimes participated in by Panthers.

With his rhetoric and his remarks critical of the government, Dr. Campbell's speech was interrupted several times by applause from the audience. One interruption he didn't count on, however, occurred 45 minutes into his talk when five members of the Boston Black Panther Party invaded the hall and approached the podium from two different directions.

The audience of more than 300 was fear-stricken but the most terrified individual in the hall was Dr. Campbell who was now confronted by the very individuals whose praises he was previously singing. The Panthers told the audience that they checked on Campbell, found he was not a Panther and said he was a fraud and a pig. Campbell, noticeably less self-assured than minutes earlier, admitted to the invaders that he was not a member of the Panthers but stated he loved them. He dropped a few names of Indiana Panthers but the Boston group was apparently not impressed. The tension was not relieved until a member of the host committee took the blame for the error in the advance publicity.

Before the Boston group departed they rejected an invitation to participate in the remainder of the program but revealed an additional concern involving the money collected at the door for the talk by the non-Panther. The issue was not resolved but the real Panthers were certain to be heard from again in the SEARCHED SERIALIZED FILED FILED FILED

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FBI - INDIANAPOLIS

In the remainder of his talk, Dr. Campbell, who incidentally is an announced candidate for Congress in Indiana's 7th District on the Peace and Freedom ticket, stated that his only reason for not joining the Panthers is that he is "afraid to pick up the gun", a requisite for a good Panther.

FBI

Date:	3-3-	70
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Transmit	the following in	·	
Via	AIRTEL	(Type in plaintext or code)	
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TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-531)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MATTERS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RM

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau, San Francisco, Indianapolis and New York is one copy of a proposed letter.

The enclosed item is being submitted in connection with captioned program. The Bureau was previously advised of the talk by Dr. Finley C. Campbell in Concord, Massachusetts, per Boston teletype to Bureau captioned, "DR. FINLEY C. CAMPBELL, RM-BPP", OO: Indianapolis, dated 2-28-70.

For additional information, three of the five Boston Black Panther Party (BPP) members who interrupted CAMPBELL's talk on 2-27-70, were identified by attending Agents as AUDREA JONES, Boston Area Captain; JOHN THOMAS; and ROBERT HEARD. Agents in attendance were SA LAWRENCE G. GETTINGS and SA JAMES E. HARVEY.

It is noted CAMPBELL, a Negro, is the subject of an active investigation in Indianapolis and received a doctorate in English from the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

The individual who introduced CAMPBELL and who

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took the blame for the incorrect advertising was DAVID RASMUSSEN. Chairman of the Concord Fair Practices Committee.

Boston is in possession of a pamphlet obtained at the above meeting, which describes the Concord Fair Practices Committee as having been organized in 1950 to assist victims of discrimination and to help combat conditions which give rise to discrimination.

Another obtained pamphlet advertises the talk by CAMPBELL and describes him as a Black Panther as well as a political strategist and educational consultant to the Black Panther Party.

No Boston area paper has made mention of the above 2-27-70, affair in Concord.

It is suggested this enclosed item may be given nationwide publicity as a possible follow-up to a recent syndicated newspaper column by WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY entitled, "Invite A Panther to a Party" in which BUCKLEY referred to a party run by LEONARD BERNSTEIN, former New York Philharmonic Orchestra leader, at which DONALD COX, East Coast official of BPP was an invited guest.

As an alternative to above, the Bureau is requested to consider granting permission to the Boston and Indianapolis offices to submit enclosed item to a "Letters to the Editor" column of a local paper, indicating same was authored by an anonymous concerned citizen.

Boston is of the opinion that an early handling of this matter would be effective.

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MATTERS BLACK PANTHER PARTY RM

Re Boston airtel to Director, 3/3/70.

For information copies are being furnished San Francisco, as Office of Origin and copy for Boston and New York.

In referenced letter, Boston Division suggested that a letter which they enclosed possibly be used as a counter-intelligence measure against the Black Panther Party (BPP). Boston proposed that this letter might be given nationwide publicity as a possible follow-up to a recent syndicated newspaper column by WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY. The Indianapolis Division is in support of such a measure, giving the letter nationwide publicity through some author of a syndicated news column if possible.

The alternative method suggested by Boston, of submitting a letter to the editor of the local Indianapolis newspaper and Boston newspaper, would only be feasible for Boston, inasmuch as no individuals from Indianapolis were known to be in attendance or would have knowledge of the speech made by FINLEY C. CAMPBELL on 2/27/70 at Concord, Massachusetts. If the article were first published in Boston, it would be possible to have a reprint of that article published in Indianapolis, however.

2 - Bureau (RM)

2 - San Francisco (RM)

2 - Boston (RM)

1 - New York (Info) (RM)

2 - Indianapolis

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Indianapolis is strongly in favor of giving the incident national publicity if feasible and if the Bureau is aware of some author of a syndicated news column who could publish such an article. If not feasible, it is recommended that Boston be allowed to publish their letter to the editor locally and then that article be sent to Indianapolis so that it could then be published in the local paper in Indianapolis. Indianapolis is also of the opinion in concurrence with Boston that an early handling of such a counterintelligence measure would be more effective.

## File - Serial Charge Out FD-5 (Rev. 12-15-60)

DocId: 59167388

NW 11637

File		Date
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3/20/70

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, Indianapolis ((157-761)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Indianapolis letter to Bureau dated 1/6/70.

A succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in the Indianapolis Division is set forth below:

#### NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

The NOI in the State of Indiana maintains seven mosques or temples, with only two of those being numbered or designated. The two numbered temples or mosques are Temple #31, the largest, located at South Bend, Indiana, with about 70 to 80 members, and the other is Mosque #33, the second largest located at Gary, Indiana, with about 40 members. Indianapolis, Indiana is the third largest mosque in the State with approximately 27 members. The remaining mosques or temples in Indiana, are located at East Chicago, Evansville, Fort Wayne, and Muncie, Indiana, each having five or six members at the present time.

The NOI membership has continued to remain fairly stable throughout the state with little change since last reported. All of the temples have an average of from four to seven visitors at their weekly meetings. Outside of their regular meetings, which are conducted by the NOI ministers of the respective temples or mosques who have received their instruction at Chicago, Illinois, little other activity exists. In addition to their meetings, they sell copies of their newspaper, "Muhammad Speaks," and in Indianapolis they operate several businesses known as Shabazz Enterprises. The NOI finances itself through dues from members, sale of newspaper, and operation of their businesses.

2-Bureau (RM) 1-Indianapolis ELG/sjr

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The NOI has never caused any problems in the Indianapolis Division and have not been known to pose any threat to the peace in the State of Indiana. Although they have never caused any problems, they could become a threat possibly through some incident, and because of strong religious conviction in what they are doing they could be a threat to the peace of the state. At the present time, no reason is evident, however, to consider them a very real threat.

#### B. RADICAL ACTION PROJECT (RAP)

The Radical Action Project (RAP) has closed their headquarters located at 2264 North Meridian, Indianapolis, Indiana, as well as their bookstore, and have now ceased to exist as an organization. Both leaders CHARLES WILLIAM HENDRICKS and WILLIAM CRAWFORD, have found other interests and seemingly have abandoned the organization completely. The primary reason for their failure was financial, with debts high and no new source of funds. In the future the RAP will no longer be included in this letter inasmuch as they have closed down their operations.

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### C. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

The Black Panther Party (BPP) continues to operate from its headquarters at 113 West 30th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Although numerous times they have discussed moving from their present location, as their present building is to be torn down, they continue to remain as long as their no-rent situation will last and they are absolutely forced to move. The present membership of the BPP remains at about the same figure, as they are only able to claim seven or eight members. The leaders continue to be DONALD CAMPBELL, Minister of Defense, who is the main spokesman and leader, and ROBERT O'BANNON, who is the present chairman. Most activity for the BPP in Indianapolis has centered around the various college campuses around the State of Indiana. They have become more closely aligned with the

white college radical groups as well as with the various black organizations on the campuses. One of the most active BPP members, KEITH PARKER, is a student at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, where he is running for Student Body President.

In addition to activity in Indianapolis, a group has started in Gary, Indiana, and have established a community center there. The reported leader is FRED WALDON, and the center is located at 2244 West 11th Avenue, in Gary. The exact membership is notknown inasmuch as they are just presently organizing; however, it appears that they presently have about four or five active members. The group in Gary is closely aligned with the Chicago chapter of the BPP, and has had little, if any, contact with the BPP in Indianapolis. The BPP in Indianapolis appears to be jealous of the Gary group, apparently because they dealt with Chicago rather than Indianapolis, and Gary is located in Indiana.

The BPP has caused no real problems in the State of Indiana and has been much less violent than in other parts of the United States. While they have not been involved in any real acts of violence to date, they are presently considered to have the most potential of any of the black extremist groups operating within the Indianapolis Division. The BPP has been followed regularly in a bi-weekly intelligence letter.

#### 1. Operations Under Consideration

The NOI has been nonviolent to date in the Indianapolis Division and no real operations form combatting the NOI are being presently considered, other than an interview program which is being maintained. While interviews are being used in regard to the NOI, they are also being utilized to a large degree in the BPP. Both former members and currently active members are interviewed whenever the situation avails itself. In addition to interviewing, one counterintelligence move directed at the BPP at the present time concerns an individual, FINLEY C. CAMPBELL, a Professor at Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, who has been a strong sympathizer with

the BPP in Indianapolis and who has contributed various things to the BPP. CAMPBELL recently spoke in Cambridge, Massachusetts regarding the BPP and while speaking he was challenged by members of the Boston chapter of the BPP, as to what right he had to speak for the BPP when he was not even a member of the organization. They did, however, allow him to finish speaking. It was felt that this situation might well lend itself to use as a counterintelligence move by making it known through a nationally syndicated news column. Both Indianapolis and Boston have made recommendations to the Bureau in this regard, and are presently being considered.

#### 2. Operations Being Effected

One operation being effected is mentioned above and is being presently considered by the Bureau. Another operation which is now concluded was the discouraging of any financing of the Radical Action Project by the Episcopal Church in New York City, N. Y. Through a local source, consideration of giving RAP any funds was totally discouraged, with the result that RAP received no funds and has now completely dissolved itself as an organization.

Another operation being effected is to promote the jealousy among all black extremist groups, one toward the other, and specifically between the BPP located in Gary, Indiana and the chapter in Indianapolis. Through all interviews all attempts to promote the already existing high feeling between the two groups will be capitalized upon.

#### 3. Tangible Results

RAP has from loss of funds, brought about by contacting appropriate sources, been forced into a position of completely dissolving itself as an organization, and no longer exists. Also by promoting jealousy among the various black groups in Indianapolis toward the BPP, the BPP receives essentially no support from any other black groups.

#### 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None other than those listed above and those reported in the bi-weekly intelligence letter submitted concerning the BPP.

#### File - Serial Charge Out FD-5 (Rev. 12-15-60)

NW 11637

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## File - Serial Charge Out FD-5 (Rev. 12-15-60)

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NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 189

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DocId:59167388 Page 190

NW 11637

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Sent Via DocId:59167388 Page 191

Airtel to SAC, Baltimore et al RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS; COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM NEW LEFT 100-448006; 100-449698

in radical publications and presents other material which attests to this concern and thus indirectly applies embarrassing anti-Semitic stigma to many organizations of radical New Left and BPP.

To capitalize on same from counterintelligence aspect, article content was prepared in enclosed pamphlet format for anonymous mailing to selected individuals or organizations within areas where full impact of anti-Semitism on part of New Left and Black Panthers can be made. Handle same accordingly. Insure mailing cannot be traced to Bureau and under no circumstance is Bureau to be acknowledged as source of enclosure. Maintain list of addressees for possible follow-up counterintelligence material.

Advise Bureau of positive results obtained.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Indianapolis letter to the Bureau, 3/20/70.

A succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in the Indianapolis Division is set forth below:

#### A. NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

The Indianapolis Division presently has seven mosques or temples with two of those being numbered or designated. Temple Number 31, located at South Bend, Indiana, is the largest, having approximately 60 members, and the other numbered mosque is Number 33, which is the second largest, located at Gary, Indiana, having approximately 40 members. There are approximately 25 members of the NOI at Indianapolis, Indiana, which is the third largest mosque in the state. In addition, mosques or temples are located at East Chicago, Evansville, Fort Wayne and Muncie, Indiana, each having five or six members.

Membership in the NOI has remained fairly stable with only a slight decrease in the total number of members since last reported. Little activity takes place on the part of the NOI in the Indianapolis Division, with the NOI holding only regular meetings, which are conducted by the NOI ministers of the respective temples or mosques. All of the ministers have received their instructions at Chicago, Illinois, and have received the exact same instructions which they follow with no change.

The NOI receives financing through sales of their newspaper "Muhammad Speaks" and also from several businesses, known as the Shabazz Enterprises in Indianapolis. Also included in the way of finances are dues collected regularly from members.

2 - Bureau (RM)
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There have never been any problems in the Indianapolis Division caused or threatened by the NOI, and the NOI is not generally considered to pose a threat to the U. S. Government or to the peace in the Indianapolis Division. However, while the NOI has not caused any problem because of strong religious conviction in what they are doing, if once motivated, could be a real threat to the peace of the state. There is no reason at the present time, however, to consider them a threat and they do not appear to be violence prome at this time.

#### B. Black Panther Party (RPP)

The Black Panther Party (BPP) no longer operates from its headquarters at 113 West 30th Street, Indianapolis, after having abandoned that location.

The BPP has acquired a new headquarters known as the Eldridge Cleaver Community Information Center, 414 East 23rd Street, Indianapolis. Since moving to their new location, the BPP has enjoyed, during the summer months, an increase in interest, primarily on the part of youth in the neighborhood, who were out of school for the summer.

Membership in the BPP has continued to be approximately 8 to 10 active members, with possibly 10 to 15 members, who show up for political education classes and various rallies on occasion, but without any apparent real devotedness to the cause. The main leader is DONALD CAMPBELL, Minister of Defense, who runs and operates the Indianapolis Chapter of the BPP. Until September, 1970, ROBERT O'BANNON, Area Captain, had been an extremely active member and leader, second in command, after CAMPBELL. O'BANNON, however, was married in June, 1970, and he and his wife resided at BPP Headquarters until September, 1970, In the first of September, 1970, conflict broke out between DONALD CAMPBELL and ROBERT O'BANNON, with the result that O'BANNON has now dropped out of the BPP, and no longer wants any part of the organization. The effect of his leaving the BPP has not yet been known, as to whether it will hinder or help the BPP, but it is believed that O'BANNON's absence will definitely hinder the BPP's relationships on the college campuses and with white radical groups. O'BANNON had been the

main liaison man between white individuals and students on the college campuses as his main interest was with these two groups, unlike that of CAMPBELL.

Activity on the part of the BPP in Indianapolis has been relatively small with the chapter holding political education classes, attempting to start a breakfast program and speeches on the various campuses and at rallies in the State of Indiana. Other activity has included helping persons interested in the BPP, to organize in the Dayton, Ohio area, in recent months.

Also the BPP took a great interest in the student elections at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, where KEITH PARKER, a BPP member, was elected student body president. PARKER openly admitted his affiliation with the BPP, prior to his election and afterwards, however, still managed to win the election.

The Fred Hampton Memorial Community Center, located at 2105 North Broadway, Gary, continues to operate under the leadership of FRED WALDEN. The BPP in Gary has had essentially no contact with the Indianapolis chapter of the BPP and carries on all of their business with members of the Chicago chapter of the BPP, in Chicago, Illinois.

Attempts have been made to gain funds for the breakfast program in the Gary area, however, no breakfast program has materialized.

Activity of the BPP in Gary has been limited primarily to organization and to politically educating and orienting the small membership, which they now possess.

No real problems have been caused by the BPP in the Indianapolis Division and while they have not been involved in any acts of violence to date, they are considered to have the most potential for violence of any of the Black extremist groups presently operating in the Indianapolis Division.

The BPP continues to be followed closely with a monthly summary airtel and evidentiary report.

#### 1. Operations Under Consideration

The NOI, in continuing its non-violent approach to date, has not been considered for any counterintelligence measures, other than an interview program, which continues to be maintained.

Interviews of BPP members and of relatives have been utilized to a large degree and will be continued on a regular basis. Through interviews with BPP members and other local black groups, attempts are made to continue to promote a jealousy which exists among the leaders of the various groups. Any opportunity to promote this jealousy is seized upon at the time of interview and through use of informants. These measures will be continued as they have proven quite effective in the past in keeping any black organization in the Indianapolis area from becoming a large or unified group.

#### 2. Operations Being Effected

As mentioned above, interviews with individuals who are members of black organizations are done on a regular basis and all attempts to promote any differences of opinion or jealousy between the organizations and their leaders are utilized.

Under this method of operation, a number of interviews have been conducted with ROBERT O'BANNON, former Area Captain of the BPP in Indianapolis, and in addition to those interviews with O'BANNON many interviews have been conducted with O'BANNON's mother. As a result of contact with the mother and O'BANNON, he has now become inactive and is no longer in the BPP.

### 3. Tangible Results

The BPP in Indianapolis has been unable to maintain a strong leadership position, as conflict between the leaders O'BANNON and CAMPBELL have been promoted through alliterviews with

O'BANNON. In addition, O'BANNON's mother, who is not impressed with the BPP, nor her son's involvement, has continued to be a contact, which finally had fruition in O'BANNON becoming inactive in the BPP. O'BANNON's mother, who was cooperative with Agents, continued to push her son to get out of the BPP, and in addition, at the suggestion of Agents, also encouraged O'BANNON's wife to have O'BANNON get out of the BPP.

In September, 1970, O'BANNON did quit the BPP, as a result of pressure from his mother and wife and his departure culminated in a conflict between CAMPBELL and himself, whereby CAMPBELL told O'BANNON that he could not quit the BPP, as he was being thrown out of the BPP.

#### 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

There have been no further developments of counterintelligence interest than those mentioned above in the previous sections of this letter. UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT - MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 9/30/70

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBulet to New Haven 9/8/70, which authorized reproduction of proposed counterintelligence leaflet entitled "Let's Compare the Ten-Point Program of the Black Panther Party With 'Like It Is'."

Enclosed herewith for each office receiving this communication are three copies of above leaflet, which is to be reproduced in sufficient quantities for distribution to individuals in your areas upon whom it should have an enlightening effect. Distribution is to be made only by anonymous mailings which cannot be traced to the Bureau.

You are further instructed to advise the Bureau of any tangible results received as a result of these mailings.

2-Bureau (Encl.-1) 2-Baltimore (Encl.-3) 2-Boston (Encl.-3) 2-Charlotte (Encl.-3) 2-Chicago (Encl.-3) 2-Cleveland (Encl.-3) 2-Denver (Encl.-3) (2) Indianapolis (Encl.-3) Q great full 2-Los Angeles (Encl.-2) 2-Milwaukee (Encl.-3) 2-Newark (Encl.-3) 2-New York (Encl.-3) 2-Omaha (Encl.-3) 2-Philadelphia (Encl.-3) 2-Portland (Encl.-3) 2-San Francisco (Encl.-3) 2-Seattle (Encl.-3) 2-Washington Field (Encl.-3) 2-New Haven IMG/1rf (40)REGISTERED MAIL

159-761-84 SENTIST TO THE OFFI OCT 5 1970 FIL-INDIANT POLIS Taleni M

## LET'S COMPARE THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WITH "LIKE IT IS"

#### BLACK PANTHER PARTY

- 1. We want Freedom.
- 2. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
- 3. We want full employment of our people.

We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black Community.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

#### "LIKE IT IS"

- 1. Ask any member how long he or she can be out of contact with the Party without being disciplined. "No freedom in the Party." Ask Alex Rackley and Anderson about Freedom!
- 2. The destiny of the Black community is to be ruled by the Party. Have you ever told a Black Panther "no" when they asked something of you?
  - 3. The words "our people" is the catcher. This really means the people of the BPP.
    Have you ever been helped by a BPP member to get a job?
    No! Ask any member the last time he tried to get a job for himself.
    THE ANSWER WILL BE, "I GOT ONE,"
    "I WORK FOR THE MOVEMENT."

Webster's New World Dictionary states that a capitalist is one who has capital. With that definition, the BPP is a capitalist organization, for the gross income of that organization would far exceed your wildest dreams. Where does this money come from? You and me. Ever get any money from the Party? Who is robbing who?

4. The finance of the BPP is out of sight, yet dig the pads that are set up as headquarters. You will say that it is the best they can do, or it is symbolic. Good, check the labels in the clothes of the leaders and then go price that "front" in the clothing store. Have you ever asked a Panther to aid in getting a pad, and all you get is double talk but no help?

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society.

We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

- 6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.
- 7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people.

5. That old Uncle Tom talk, "I ain't got no good means of obtaining an education." The party or no one else can say that a good education is only for whites. Ask to go to any school, and you can go. This is a great talking point for persons who have not gone to school any longer than was necessary.

I say to this part of Point 5, Right-on, but I can't say Right-on to the Party that takes kids that can't think for themselves on any subject, but play and drill into them to kill. Don't take my word for it, drop by some times and lead an ear. You be the judge.

- 6. Let's call a club a club and believe it, a cbub will be used by all countries, at odds with the U.S. on any person in the U.S. Man, because you are Black, don't exempt you if we lose!
- Again, we have a standard cry of most persons who are impun known to break the law, and violently object to being apprehended and punished for same. In today's work-a-day world the word brutality has had its fair share of abuse. time one is arrested and carried in for questioning the standard vanguard cry is "police brutality." . Is it really brutality? Or just a means of drawing attention? Then put Black in front of it, and everyone gets up in arms.

8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

- 8. As has often been stated by those
  3. in authority or rule of Black
  Panther Party, we are in
  existence only to serve the
  people. Now I ask you does this
  statement release all Black men
  from prisons sound as though they
  are looking out for the best
  interests of the community?
  As in any judicial system certain
  people that may be innocent,
  white or black, may be sentenced
  unjustly, but the statement,
  "free all" is a little irrational
- 9. On this point I have but one question as is the question in the minds of many in the community then the Panthers state that all Blacks brought to trial should be tried by their peers. Are they referring to the type of trial that was held for their former brother members Alex Rackley and Eugene Leroy Anderson? The point of one being tried by his peers is just and a good law, but a kangaroo court by anybody is a kangaroo court. If Rackley and Anderson were here, I'm sure they could tell you "like it is."
- 10. Every item that is mentioned in point ten can be obtained by any individual that has the gumption to obtain same. The poetic statement used in point ten which implies black separatism closely paralells that of another archaic group better known as the KKK. Black Panthers, Kluxers and any other group that feels that the races can live alone should only look at any country in the world and try to pick one that you find only one kind of individual or race. Impossible, isn't it?

To the Panthers and any other grottell it like it is and not like it ain't!

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 21)

PROM:

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2346)

SUBJECT:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -

INDIANAPOLIS DIVISION

RM

On 10/7/70. the following information was furnished whose

identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau:

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

FRAZIER reported that DON (probably DONALD CAMPBELL) was in an accident on the night of 10/6/70, and has a fractured pelvis. She further reported that the Defense Captain, not further identified, has been purged from the chapter and that she is next in command and was trying to keep things going.

PRAZIER further reported that the Indianapolis chapter now had ten Panthers-in-training, and she also stated that an informer in the chapter had been stealing money and using it for personal purposes. She and ROOSEVELT HILLIARD, BPP Assistant Chief of Staff with whom she conferred, both agreed that this is the time when they must all pull together because the situation at the

2 - Bureau

27- Indianapolis (157-1061)

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RNB/pae

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Indianapolis chapter at this time provided an opportune moment for "the pigs" to move in and exploit the situation. FRAZIER furnished their current telephone number in Indianapolis as 317-925-0157.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

The above is furnished for the information of the Indianapolis Division to assist that Division in keeping abreast of BPP activities and the status of the Indianapolis chapter.

Apparently FRAZIER is inexperienced in BPP leadership. Therefore, Indianapolis should remain alert for any situation that might lend itself to counterintelligence measures, which of course, should not be undertaken without Bureau authority.

UNITED STATES GO emorandum



: SAC (105-5821)

DATE: 10/19/70

FROM

: SA JOHN H. BRAND'T

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

NEW LEFT

SECURITY MATTER

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS

RACIAL INTELLIGENCE-BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Bureau Airtel, 9/9/70

A copy of article that appeared in 8/14/70 issue of the "New York Times" and enclosed in re airtel has been mailed to the following:

David Colton, 930-C, Maxwell Terrace, Bloomington Paul Wehmeier, Wright Quad, Box 506, Gayle Fink, McNutt Quad, S-137, Steve Gish, Wilkie Quad, S-203, Carol Faulb, Forest Quad, W-830, Bill Edelstein, Foster Quad, B-324 Ike Nahem, Wilkie Quad, Robert Gordon, Anti-Defamation League, Indianapolis Ron Haldeman, 2440 N. Park, B'nai Torah Congregation, 6510 Hoover Broadmoor Country Club, 2155 hessler Blvd., Jewish Community Center (Council), 615 N. Ala., Jewish Post, 611 N. Park Ave., Jewish Educational Ass., 6711 Hoover Rd., Arthur Gerald Conn, 2909 178th Place, Hammond Alfred Samter, 501 E. darf 47th Pl., Gary Fred Stern, 8300 Indiana Boundary, Jewish Welfare Federation, Northwest Indiana, 4844 Broadway, Gary, Indiana Seymour Moskowitz, 4829 Alcott, East Chicago, Indiana

2-(105-4821) 1-(157-761)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 21)

FROM:

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2346)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -

INDIANAPOLIS DIVISION

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2 Bureau - Indianapolis (157-1061) -1 - San Francisco

RNB/pae (5)

SF 157-2346 RNB/pae

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1842 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, Albany

DATE: 10-30-70

FROM

:\/Director, FBI

(100-448006)

(100-448006)

SUBJECT:

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS

RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel 3-4-68 captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence."

As a result of a recommendation made by field racial supervisors at a recent Bureau conference, instant abbreviated caption should be utilized henceforth.

- 2 Atlanta
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- 2 Birmingham
- 2 Boston
- 2 Buffalo
- 2 Charlotte
- 2 Chicago
- 2 Cincinnati
- 2 Cleveland
- 2 Columbia
- 2 Denver
- 2 Detroit
- 2 Houston
- 2 Indianapolis
- 2 Jackson
- 2 Jacksonville
- 2 Kansas City
- 2 Los Angeles
- 2 Memphis
- 2 Miami
- 2 Milwaukee

- 2 Minneapolis
- 2 Mobile
- 2 Newark
- 2 New Haven
- 2 New Orleans
- 2 New York
- 2 Omaha
- 2 Philadelphia
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- 2 Tampa

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## File - Serial Charge Out FD-5 (Rev. 12-15-60)

NW 11637

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Page 208

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ro : SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-1061)

DATE: 11/16/70

FROM

SA HENRY P. LATINI

SUBJECT:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RM - BPP

In order to more easily record and locate data pertaining to various phases of the investigations in captioned matter, it is recommended that separate case files be opened regarding those phases of investigation and that serials listed below be extracted from 15701061 and be placed in files designated.

BPP - Stockpiling of Arms and Ammunition 1579

Serials 157-1061 - 1279 1278 1270 1269 1374

#### BPP - Public Appearances

157-

Serials 157-1061 - 1268 1267 1372 1326 1428

1 - 157-BPP Counter Intelligence (157-761)

1 - 157-BPP Financial Affairs

1 - 157-BPP Stockpiling of Arms and Ammunition

1 - 157-BPP Public Appearances

1 - 157-BPPCommunist Influence

1 - 157-BPP Membership and Sympathizers

1 - 157-BPP Newspaper Clippings

1 - 157-2459 Travel of BPP Leaders

1 - 157-BPP Activities and Programs

1 - 157-BPP Communications

1 - 157-BPP Films and Publications (157-2651)

1 - 157-BPP Transportation

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BPP - Activities and Programs		157-
Serials 157-1061	1277	
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Volume 27	1472	
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Page 215

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Enclosed for each office are 50 reproductions of a column written by Victor Riesel regarding Black Panther Party (BPP).

Sent Via \_\_\_\_\_

M P

L637 DocId:59167388 Page 216

Airtel to SAC, Alexandria
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MEASURES
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

Portion of column deals with proposal that union members refuse to handle shipments of BPP newspapers. Obviously if such a boycott gains national support it will result in effectively cutting off BPP propaganda and finances; therefore, it is most desirable this proposal be brought to attention of members and officials of unions such as Teamsters and others involved in handling of shipments of BPP newspapers. These shipments are generally by air freight. The column also deals with repeated calls for murder of police that appear in BPP paper; therefore, it would also be desirable to bring boycott proposal to attention of members and officials of police associations who might be in position to encourage boycott.

Each office anonymously mail copies of enclosed to officials of appropriate unions, police organizations or other individuals within its territory who could encourage such a boycott. Use commercially purchased envelopes and take appropriate measures to insure mailing cannot be traced to Bureau. Make no dissemination of this column other than anonymously.

Handle promptly and advise Bureau of any positive results noted. Any publicity observed concerning proposed boycott should be brought to attention of Bureau.

Be alert for any other opportunities to further exploit this proposal. Submit any suggestions to Bureau for approval prior to taking action.

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12/22/70

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC. INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Indianapolis letter to the Bureau, 9/23/70.

A succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in the Indianapolis Division is set forth below:

### A. NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

The Indianapolis Division presently has six meeting places, two of which are designated as mosques by the NOI. Mosque Number 31 is located at South Bend, Indiana, and has the largest membership, numbering approximately 60 members. The second largest is located at Gary, Indiana, and is designated Mosque Number 33. It has approximately 40 members. The Indianapolis group has increased its membership very slightly to approximately 27 members, but still 27 lacks the 30 members minimum required for designation as a mosque. It is, however, the third largest NOI group in the State of Indiana.

Additionally, meeting places are also located in East Chicago, Evansville, and Fort Wayne, Indiana, each of these having somewhere between four and six members. The group at Muncie, Indiana, disbanded sometime in the late summer or early fall of 1970, after being evicted from their meeting place. This disbandment apparently occurred because of the difficulty in obtaining a new meeting place and a resulting lack of interest on the part of members.

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NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 219

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2/1/71

Membership in this group has remained fairly stable as noted. Little activity takes place by the group in the Indiana area, with the exception of regular meetings conducted by NOI ministers of respective groups. It is reported that all ministers have received instructions from Chicago, Illinois, which they follow with no change.

The NOI receives financing through sale of their newspaper "Muhammad Speaks" and from several businesses known as the Shabazz Enterprises in Indianapolis. Dues, which are regularly collected from members, are also part of NOI group financing.

The NOI has never created any problems in the Indianapolis Division, and is not generally considered a threat to the U. S. Government or to the peace of Indiana. However, because of strong religious conviction, it is felt that if once motivated, the NOI could be a real threat to the peace because of the dedication and organization of this group. At the present time, there is no reason to consider this group a threat since it does not seem violence prome.

### B. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

The BPP operates from its headquarters at 414 East 23rd Street.

Membership in the group continues to be approximately eight to ten active members, with possibly ten to 15 sympathizers, who assist with miscellaneous functions conducted by the BPP, such as selling raffle tickets or assisting in the collection or distribution of a BPP Pantry Program, recently instituted by that group. These latter individuals do not appear to have any real devotion to the BPP cause however.

The current leader of the EPP is DONALD CAMPBELL, Minister of Defense, who is either assisted by, or in contention with ROSALIND FRAZIER, who advertises herself as Field

Lieutenant in that group and who is the only individual permitted to sign checks drawn on the BPP, Inc. bank account.

ROBERT O'BANNON, Area Captain, has announced his withdrawal and disaffiliation with the BPP.

Political education classes have been deemphasized by the Indianapolis chapter of the BPP because of poor attendance there. A Breakfast Program for School Children was started and effective for a matter of a few weeks, but was discontinued because the BPP had no heat and poor service from other utilities. This group currently owes utility firms and rental agent in excess of \$1,000. This amount has been increasing monthly.

The leading RPP member at Indiana University (IU), Bloomington, Indiana, KEITH PARKER, as previously noted was elected student body president. He currently is advertised as being en route to Hanoi, North Vietnam, in order to effect a People-To-People Peace Treaty with that government.

The Fred Hampton Memorial Community Center, Gary, Indiana, is nearly completely defunct. This group, primarily connected with the Chicago, Illinois EPP, has no telephone service and it is generally unoccupied. Its members reportedly will spend the winter in Chicago.

No real problems have occurred as a result of BPP activity in the Indianapolis Division, Although this group has not been involved in acts of violence to date, they are considered to have the most potential for violence of any of the Black extremist groups presently operating in the Indianapolis Division.

The BPP continues to be followed closely and investigation is included in monthly summary airtels, evidentiary reports and financial airtels.

### 1. Operations Under Consideration

The NOI, because of its non-violent approach, thus far has not been considered for counterintelligence measures. Interview program is maintained.

Interviews with BPP members relatives and former members, as well as residents in the BPP community continue and are utilized in an attempt to keep this group from enlarging or becoming more unified under better leadership.

### 2. Operations Being Effected

As mentioned above, interviews with individuals who are members of Black organizations, affiliates or persons coming in contact with such groups are conducted on a regular basis.

Every opportunity to exploit differences of opinion between leadership and the organizations themselves are utilized.

In addition, several counterintelligence measures have been effected or employed.

An article highlighting the fear of Jews to anti-Zionism of the BPP and the New Left appearing in the 8/14/70 issue of the "New York Times" has been sent anonymously to various individuals of Jewish origin and affiliated with Jewish organizations in the Indianapolis and Lafayette, Indiana areas. It is noted that this article, extracted from the "New York Times" notes that the fear of BPP and New Left that Zionism represents open hostility to Israel as the imperialistic partner of the United States. This article shows further that this ostensible reason for attack is a sham for actual abusive, hateful anti-Semitism by those groups. The article further documents instances in radical publications and shows other material supporting this conclusion and applies embarrassing anti-Semitic stigma to the radical New Left and EPP.

With regard to KEITH PARKER, an anonymous mailing to various legitimate IU student organizations entitled "The Parker 'Cop-Out' Or More Aptly 'No More Bull,' " was recently conducted. This mailing emphasized PARKER's proposed trip to Hanoi and his alleged representation of IU students at the People-To-People Peace Treaty being conducted there. It attacked the use of funds contributed by students of IU to the student government of that college by KEITH PARKER for personal political gains. It showed PARKER's connection with the BPP and the Student Mobilization Committee and generally attempts to discredit him as a true student representative.

An anonymous mailing has also been made to various Black leaders in the Indianapolis community, as well as individuals somewhat in sympathy with certain causes espoused by them and militant or radical groups. This particular mailing obtained from the Bureau is captioned "Let's Compare the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party with 'Like It Is'." This mailing lists RPP demands with logical refutation of these demands.

Currently, the Indianapolis Division is compiling a list of union officials and police organizations in the Indiana area in order to conduct a mailing which reproduces a column written by VICTOR RIESEL regarding the BPP. Part of his column deals with the proposal that union members refuse to handle shipments of BPP newspapers and generally boycott BPP transmissions.

### 3. Tangible Results

While it cannot be said with certainty that the BPP has lost any of its support from Jewish segments that might have previously contributed under the mantel of liberal support for oppressed individuals, it is definite that the BPP recently has incurred more and more debt in its operation in the Indianapolis Division.

It cannot be stated that the mailing reproduced from the "New York Times" is responsible for lack of contributions, however, the fact of the mounting indebtedness of the BPP is noted in this regard.

In connection with the mailing concerning KEITH PARKER, tangible results are already noted. Numerous articles are appearing in the student newspapers at IU, denouncing PARKER for his trip and attitude.

No tangible results regarding "Like It Is" have come to the attention of the Indianapolis Division at this time.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

There have been no further developments of counter-intelligence interest other than those mentioned above.

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Approved:

SF 157-601 LSB/crv

San Francisco therefore requests authority to mail the following anonymous communication from Oakland, California to the Baltimore, New Haven, and New York NCCF and BPP Chapters and the Chicago, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and WFO BPP Chapters:

"Oakland, California

"Comrades:

"Dispite expulsion, chaos and discipline of the lumpen, the Black Panther Party still lives and will continue to thrive. Too many of our leaders have now turned this movement into something to line their own pockets and have little regard for the man on the street selling "The Black Panther." Ask the members of your chapter coming to the national where the Comrade Commander and the Chief of Staff live. Huey Newton lives miles from another nigger and you'll never find him in National Headquarters. If you're lucky you can see him buying drinks for white freaks in Oakland supper clubs.

"These same leaders have now placed the fault of the Revolutionary People's Convention on the working members. Our chapters throughout the country rapped hard getting people together and signing up for the convention. On arriving in Washington nothing was ready and the white revolutionaries outnumbered the blacks. National Headquarters gave no guidance, no directives and the top man did not do anything for the convention until they arrived at Washington the day it opened.

"The brothers throughout the country, the real Black Panthers, should also stand up and give the leadership some idea of the value of the speeches they give for a big fee. I'm not trying to break down the Black Panther Party. We're trying to improve it and honestly tell the leadership what

SF. 157-601 LSB/crv

is wrong. Few of us can understand Huey's recent speeches and how can we relate to him when we don't know what he's talking about. Consider this well for we are saying what we mean and mean what we say. Right on."

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## Director, FBI (100-448006)	
18/103-4251	
COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION	
RACIAL MATTERS	
BUDED: 2/10/71	
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recently expelled or disciplined several dedicated Panther	

Note deadline

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NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 230

Airtel to Albany et al
Re: COINTELPRO - Black Panther Party (BPP) - Dissension
100-448006

Elbert Howard, Deputy Minister of Information; Connie Matthews, International Representative and Newton's secretary; Elmer Pratt and companions who were involved in BPP underground operation (see 1/23/71 edition of "The Black Panther"); and the "New York 21" who were a leading cause celebre of Pantherism.

This dissension coupled with financial difficulties offers an exceptional opportunity to further disrupt, aggravate and possibly neutralize this organization through counterintelligence. In light of above developments this program has been intensified by selected offices and should be further expanded to increase measurably the pressure on the BPP and its leaders.

San Francisco and New York are already involved in counterintelligence actions and should continue to be alert for further opportunities. All other recipients should immediately devise at least two counterintelligence proposals and submit same to Bureau by 2/10/71. First proposal should be aimed strictly at creating dissension within the local branch. Second proposal should be aimed at creating dissension or problems between local branch and/or its leaders and BPP national headquarters. Submit each proposal in a separate airtel referencing this communication and in first paragraph specifically indicate whether proposal aimed at local dissension or national dissension.

In order for these proposals to be effective it is imperative that a close analysis be made of weaknesses and problems within the local BPP branch and that all proposals submitted be imaginative and timely. No proposal should be implemented without specific Bureau approval.

### Memorandum

TO : ALL RACIAL AGENTS

DATE: 4/8/71

FROM

SUPV. CHARLES E. KEEFER

(157-761)

SUBJECT:

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS

RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtels 3/4/68 and 3/29/71.

ReBuairtel 3/4/68 instructed various offices to submit a progress letter every 90 days summarizing counterintelligence operations and changes in overall Black Nationalist Movement in the respective areas during that period.

Effective immediately the 90-day progress letters are being discontinued.

Although the progress letters are being discontinued, all Agents should continually be aware of the necessity of furnishing the Bureau counterintelligence operations suggestions, and same should be considered continually in investigations of various racial groups and individuals. All Agents should understand the objectives of this program as set out in referenced Bureau airtel 3/4/68. All offices are expected to participate in this program, and our participation will be followed by the Bureau and will be analyzed during field office inspections.

It is important to remember any counterintelligence proposals must be submitted to the Bureau for Bureau approval before any action can be taken. Proposals submitted must be designed to insure there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. The proposals may be submitted to the Bureau by airtel or in unusual situations by teletype where timeliness is essential.

Each Agent receiving this memorandum should become familiar with referenced Bureau airtel dated 3/4/68.

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Airtel to Albany
Re: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS
100-448006

Effective immediately these 90-day progress letters are being discontinued.

You must insure that Racial Matters Supervisor, Special Agent Coordinator for this program and Agents assigned to Racial Matters investigations are aware of continued objectives of this program and that meaningful proposals are submitted to the Bureau on a timely basis. Insure that such Supervisor and Coordinator are aggressively and enthusiastically ramrodding this program and that Agents are exercising ingenuity and initiative to accomplish this program's objectives.

You are reminded that counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Proposals submitted must be designed to insure there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

Proposed operations should be submitted to the Bureau by airtel or in unusual situations by teletype where timeliness is essential.

You must generate understanding of the objectives of this program and insure your office is participating in it on a timely basis. Extent of your office's participation in contributing to the program's objectives will be followed at the Bureau, and your participation will be analyzed during field office inspections.

OPTIONAL PORM NO. 10
MAY 1982 EDITION
GSA PPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC (159-761).

DATE: 12/22/71

FROM : SA Wes

SA Kleny P. Latin

SUBJECT:

Counterintelliquice Programs

Black Nationalist - Hate groups

Racial Intelligence

Black Parther Party

he new Haven let to Wirector PBI, 9/30/70

Ou 11/23/71 the article Lets Compare The Ten-Point Reogram of the Black Parther Party with "Like It Is" was sent anonymously to the following, on a staggered basis

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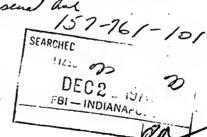
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO

SAC (157-761)

DATE: //24/7/

SA Henry P. Faturi (d6)

Counter intelligence measures Racial matters

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#### THE WEATHER

s. Cloudy tonight with temperatures in the 60s. Cloudy Thursday morning, with elearing in the afternoon, high again in the 20s.

# Morning Aems

New Jersey's Only All Day Newspaper

Stock Prices On Pages 36-37

Racina News On Page 46

80TH YEAR-VOL. 255

PATERSON, N.J., WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1970

56 PAGES

### INSIDE LABOR-

### Panthers Urge More Cop Killings

WASHINGTON—There is an amateurish impression that the Black Panther Party



olutionists for sheer desperate want of any other racial base - especially among the youth.

So unique are the Panthers as a guerrilla strike force, they've been sought out by the Maoist Peking Central Committee as "equal brothers" and the Chinese Communists "American Section". There is, in fact, a Black Panther sub-sidiary international, launched recently in Pyongyang, Northern Korea, dubbed the New World Liberation Front. It is the Maoist avant-garde in the U.S. and can easily be controlled because it has but 750 hard core members in 27 active chapters—down from the original 41 chapters, many of which were wiped out when the party's central committee in Oakland discovered the "organization" had been infiltrat-

Thus, the black strike force can be easily financed, controlled, directed and purged at will-though the thousands of sympathizers are less dis-ciplined and get themselves caught up in the killer rhetor-

THE SYMPATHIZERS get patrolman has his back to the on the hook, like an addict to assailant. Little of this goes.

a needle, by taking the Black Panther. official party publication. Trouble with the "outside" world is few ever bother to read it and thus can't understand its deadly impact.

As recently as Nov. 22, 1969, Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, now setting up a BPP embassy in Algiers, is quoted as saying, "...we will kill Richard Nixon..." Mr. Cleaver is-officially-Minister of Information.

There have been vicious anti-Semitic attacks. bave been gay and ghoulishly gloating reports of the killing of police. As, for example the shooting of a Cleveland cop.
The Oct. 3, 1970, issue of the
Panther newspaper says: ". . . one pig dead, one pig wounded at the hands of the Lumpen." Meaning the lumpenproletariat, an old Leninist

So the people now are the "lumpen" in the new uptight guerrilla community.

This cop was shot when he rusbed to help his partner — who had been hit by bullets in the mouth, chest and groin. The rescuer was thrown into the gutter. Then, says the Panther newspaper, "after a scuffle with this pig, the lumpen (in the correct manner) knocked the pig down, took his gun and fired into the pig, bang, bang, dead pig!"

Each week there are cartoons, such as the one showing a worker with three sticks of dynamite in one pocket, a shovel in his right hand and an old-fashioned "Colt" in the other. Or there is a drawing of a man about to hit a cop over the head with an axe. The

unobserved by big city police especially such as those in Los Angeles or New York City (where the 25,000-member police union, Patrolmen's Benethat new Panther literature soon will be flooding streets under the swinging title of "Pigs Today, Bacon Tomorrow"). volent Association, bas learned

Well, cops are brothers, be they black or white. And their brothers are Teamsters, construction workers as well as doctors, university people and bricklayers.

And each week, brothers of brothers are assailed by 180,-000 copies of the Panther newspaper—"assailed" being a euphemism for outright calls for their murder.

Late this summer some West Coast authorities were approached by a brother of brothers. He was-and 1s-a black union Teamster. He had with him some of the Panther material being distributed in his community. This black teamster was tough—and militant—but the "literature" was

not his thing.
The authorities listened, and in turn pulled out sheafs of editions of "The Black Pan-ther." They leafed through pages of vituperation, threats to national authorities, happy reports of police killings and the ubiquitous cartoons. They read the rules, one of which prohibits a Panther from joining any "other armed force other than the Black Liberation Army."

They read attacks on labor and urgings by the Panthers that unions be seized and used for revolutionary action.

The Teamster asked how the 180,000 copies were distributed

to and inside the nation's m jor cities - since at 25 cents apiece 180,000 sales weekly can develop quite an income. The Teamster, an air freight handler, was told much of the distribution was by air.

HE RECALLED reading ie ports on the East Coast Inter national Longshoremen's As sociation (AFL-CIO) boycof ting the Soviet merchant and passenger ships for some years. So he returned to his fellow unionists with the sug-gestion they refuse to handle or help airlift the Panther newspaper.

The boycott may or may not come off. It may turn out a be little more than a one-mai counter-revolution. That's no as important as the fact that some men of the "outside world have read the Pantie strike force agitational male ial. Those who bave iob haven't the slightest cones tion of Pantherism. More the pity. The Panthers print it right out in the open. Not even in the days of ancient anarcho-syndicalism bas there been such tough talk, such blunt calls for blood and killings as in the Panther literature. It's Maoist all the way,

I write this with restraint. Some of the provocative quotes are unprintable anywhere but in some underground press. But the same restraint will not be shown sooner or later by those whose brothers are killed on the streets protecting others.

At least let reason prevail among the public, regardless of race, color or creed. A least let the public be away of the force striking within.\_\_

WH 11637- DocLd: 59167388 Page 242

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CONFIDENTIAL

A IRTEL

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM:

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

SUBJECT:

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION

RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel dated February 2, 1971.

Submitted herewith is a proposal of the Indianapolis Division aimed at increasing local dissession within the Indianapolis Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

A close analysis of weaknesses and problems within the Indianapolis Branch of the BPP shows that a "power struggle" seems to exist at this time between the Minister of Defense DONALD H. CAMPBELL and the Field Lieutenant and Area Captain ROSALIND FRAZIER. CAMPBELL is the second oldest surviving party member in length of association and FRAZIER is a recent import from the East Coast. FRAZIER is ambitious and capable having recently organized a branch of the BPP consisting of 25 - 30 members and associates. CAMPBELL has indicated that FRAZIER presents a threat to his leadership and objects to her ambitious nature. FRAZIER appears to be a dedicated revolutionary probably because of her youth and ambition. CAMPBELL, who is considerably tolder at 36 years of age, is more interested in assisting the people of his community in social advances.

Because of CAMPBELL's primary concern with "doing good" and his following the BPP line in order to stay within the organization, the Indianapolis Division proposes that the

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OIA(b)(7) - (D)

Consideration

has been given to bringing FRAZIER up on charges of violation of Rule 4 of the BPP in order to affect the demotion of FRAZIER. It is hoped that such charges will de-emphasize her status in the BPP which will cause further dissension between her and CAMPBELL. The Indianapolis Division proposes that that provocation be conducted on a continuing basis and that other sources who are determined to be in a position to assist in this proposal be employed therein if their availability arises.

It is hoped that implementation of this proposal will cause enough dissension in the leadership ranks of the local chapter so as to occupy that leadership on an almost full-time basis in administrative details leaving little, if any time, for conduct of BPP field activities.

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AIRTEL

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM:

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

SUBJECT:

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION

RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel dated February 2, 1971.

The proposal submitted herewith is aimed at increasing national dissension within the Black Panther Party (BPP).

A close analysis of the weaknesses and problems within the Indianapolis Chapter of the BPP reveals that the Minister of Defense DONALD CAMPBELL possesses an altruistic character, is sincerely interested in instituting social programs to elevate the standards of black people in the Indianapolis and surrounding communities but more importantly in the past has indicated a desire to break away from national headquarters of the BPP. In this connection he is reported to have had a meeting with a member of the Chicago Chapter of the BPP with whom he discussed the possibilities of organizing a Midwest Branch, which would be responsible to itself only and not to National Headquarters of the BPP.

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NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 245

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

It is noted that the goal set in this matter is an extremely ambitious one but effective implementation thereof could cause other areas to follow example set by the Midwest group and hopefully create complete havor in the national structure of the BPP as it exists today. If this proposal is authorized by the Bureau,

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

It is noted that in the past CAMPBELL has had little support from local BPP leaders.

### 3/2/71

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AIRTEL

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Authority: FD 35214 By: NATA Date: 1/19/13

FBI Anto brelass

TO: Director, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DISSENSION

RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel 2/25/71.

Specifically, the Indianapolis Division desires to utilize the services of

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

CAMPBELL has already characterized FRAZIER as able and "smart" but has commented that she has a tendency to act without consulting him and requesting his authority to execute various programs in which she has an interest. He has also noted that "this will change".

It would appear that CAMPBELL strongly resents any erosion of his authority, by anyone, whether they are successful in the endeavors undertaken or not. He is extremely proud of the fact that he is the oldest Panther in Indianapolis in continuous service and according to expects a certain respect from other

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members, particularly newer ones, and especially females.

many older BPP members, adheres to the chauvinistic line which relegates women to an inferior status in the BPP heirarcy.

psae	FOIA(b)(7) - (D)	s Division would I exploit CAMPBELL	ike authority to s character traits.
		FOIA(b)(7) - (D)	

Each activity of FRAZIER reported by the source will be analized by the Special Agent handling this program for merit and the best possible method of employing that activity in order to develope and heighten the animosity between CAMPBELL and FRAZIER.

CONTRACTOR OF THE

- 2 -

### CONFIDENTIAL

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

Subsequent moves would be contemplated and outlined for additional Bureau authority.

Each other activity by FRAZIER considered of sufficient importance to merit consideration under this program will also be evaluated and outlined for the Bureau and authority for implementation will be requested.



FBI

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. the follow	ing in	•	(Type in	plaintext or co	de)	•	
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From:	Director,	FB1 (100-	-448006)				
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RACIAL	MATTERS						
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Sent Via \_

FD-36 (Rev. 5-02-64) F B. I Date: 3/5/71 Transmit the following in . (Type in plaintaxt of code) DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) SAC, CHICAGO (157-1291) (P) FROM: SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY CHICAGO DIVISION RM - SPP 00: San Francisco FOIA(b)(7) - (D)The above is provided for the info of the recipient offices. In the event the above disseminated it should be suitably paraphrased and classified Confidential Chicago will advise of additional info developed in this matter: 2 = Bureau (RM) 2 - Cincinnati (157-2346) (RM) 2 - Cleveland (157-797) (RM) 2- Detroit (157-3075) (RM) الري (RM) (Indianapolis (157-1061) 2 - Memphis (157-(RM) 2 - St. Louis (157-2 - Springfield (157-1053) (RM) 2 - San Francisco (157-1904) (RM) 3 - Chicago SCARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INCENES 1 - 157-1291 Sub J 1 - 157 - 2832(21)FSI - INDIANAPOLIS Special Agent in Charge 157-761-107

FBI Date: 3/17/71 Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_ (Type in plaintext or code) airtel (Priority) To: SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) Director, FBI (100-448006) From: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS RACIAL MATTERS Reurairtel 3/2/71 captioned "COINTELPRO - Black Panther Party (BPP) - Dissension, RM." Your proposals set forth in referenced airtel are not approved by the Bureau. FOIA(b)(7) - (D)Your suggestions and detailed analysis of the division between these individuals are appreciated and you should remain alert for activities which would warrant action in captioned program. 157-761-108 MAR 1 9 1971 - INDIANAPOLIS Sent Via



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smit the following in							
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	To; SAC, Indian	apolis (157-761)					
	From: Director,	FBI (100-448006)					
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	RACIAL MATTERS						
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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Indianapolis letter to the Bureau, 12/22/70.

A succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement, including Black Panther Party activity in the Indianapolis Division is set forth below:

# A. NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

The Indianapolis Division presently has six meeting places, two of which are designated as mosques by the NOI. Mosque Number 31 is located at South Bend, Indiana, and has the largest membership, numbering approximately 45 members. The second largest mosque is located at Gary, Indiana, and designated Mosque Number 33. It has between 35 and 45 members. The Indianapolis group has increased its membership slightly to approximately 22 members and still lacks the 30 minimum membership for designation as a mosque. It is, however, the third largest NOI group in the State of Indiana.

Additionally, meeting places are also located in East Chicago, Evansville and Fort Wayne, Indiana. Each of these having somewhere between four and six members. The group at Muncie, Indiana, disbanded late in the summer or early in the fall of 1970. As of 1/23/71, this group was inoperative and no meetings were held by them.

Membership in this group remains fairly stable. Little activity takes place by the group in the Indiana area, with exception of regular meetings conducted by NOI ministers who reportedly receive instructions from Chicago, Illinois, which they follow with no change.

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The NOI receives financing through sale of the newspaper "Muhammad Speaks," and from several businesses generally known as Shabazz Enterprises. Dues, which are regularly collected from members are also part of NOI Group financing.

The NOI has never created any problems in the Indianapolis Division, and is not generally considered a threat to the U.S. Government or to the peace of Indiana. It is felt, however, that because of strong religious convictions and if once motivated the NOI could present atthreat to the peace because of the dedication and organization of the group. At the present time, there is no reason to consider the NOI as a threat since it does not seem violence prome.

# B. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

The BPP maintains a headquarters at 414 East 23rd Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. It is actually run by the Minister of Defense DONALD CAMPBELL, who resides at 2749 North Guilford and conducts nearly all of his business from that address.

Membership in the group in Indianapolis has decreased slightly to approximately six active members, somewhere between 10 and 20 sympathizers currently exist. These individuals help with miscellaneous functions whenever programs are instituted, and in the past have assisted with collection and distribution of food stuffs for a BPP Pantry Program and before that in the operation of a Breakfast for School Children Program. of these programs exist at this time and the individuals who have assisted in those programs in the past do not appear to have any desire to assist the BPP proper in an active capacity. The BPP at this time is currently in the midst of a reorganization and is actively attempting to recruit new members to participate within the BPP proper. In this connection, throwaways have been issued and various speechs in cities such as Evansville, Muncie and Richmond, Indiana, have been conducted.

A new headquarters is being sought by the Indianapolis Chapter of the BPP at this time.

A current leader of the BPP in Indianapolis, as noted above, is DONALD CAMPBELL, Minister of Defense, who is

assisted by ROSALIND FRAZIER, Field Lieutenant and Area Captain of the Indianapolis Chapter. FRAZIER was formerly the only person allowed to sign checks drawn on the BPP bank account, however. CAMPBELL now has that privilege.

Political education classes are not held by the Indianapolis chapter at this time.

Utilization of the headquarters at 414 East 23rd Street, has not been made in view of the condition of the premises. It is noted that there are no utility services available, and that there is no heat.

The leading BPP member at Indiana University (IU), Bloomington, Indiana, is KEITH PARKER. He is also Student Body president at that school. PARKER recently made a trip to Hanoi, North Vietnam as a student government official. Sources advised that this trip had nothing to do with the BPP, and in fact that PARKER incurred the disfavor of the BPP leaders in making this trip.

The Fred Hampton Memorial Community Center in Gary, Indiana, is defunct. The group formerly operating out of that center, was primarily connected with the Chicago, Illinois RPP.

During January, 1971, ROSALIND FRAZIER was successful in organizing a branch of the BPP in Evansville, Indiana. Approximately five individuals are actively assigned with that group. Four of these were arrested in February, 1971, for activities on behalf of the BPP. The BPP in Evansville, Indiana, began its activities by contacting large supermarkets in the area and requesting one per cent of the gross of those businesses to be used in the maintenance of a Breakfast for School Children Program. They were refused and no funds were collected in this manner.

During February, 1971, the BPP at Evansville contacted the various high schools in the Evansville area, attempting to recruit black individuals from those schools

in the BPP. On several occasions during general assembly of the entire school body, these BPP members would ask the black students to meet with them in the cafeteria or other areas of the high school, rather than attend the authorized school assembly. It was as a result of this activity, that the four individuals mentioned were arrested.

The BPP has caused no real problems or acts of violence to date. This group, is however, considered to have the most potential for violence of any of the black extremist groups presently operating in the Indianapolis Division.

The BPP continues to be followed closely and investigation is shown in monthly summary airtels, evidentiary reports and financial airtels.

# 1. Operations Under Consideration

The NOI, because of its non-violence approach, thus far has not been considered for counterintelligence measures. Interview program is maintained.

Interviews with BPP members, relatives and former members, askwell as residents in the black community, continue, and are being utilized in an attempt to keep this group from enlarging or becoming more unified under better leadership.

The Indianapolis Division has submitted two proposals for Bureau authority concerning the dissension in the Indianapolis group and in the national EPP organization. Both of these proposals were received by the Bureau with notification that the Indianapolis Division would be advised of further action. These proposals concerned the development of an antagonism between the EPP leadership in Indianapolis and an attempt to have the Indianapolis chapter join the other mid-west factions in an effort to withdraw from the national EPP.

# 2. Operations Being Effected

As mentioned above, interviews with individuals who are members of black organizations, affiliates or persons coming in contact with such groups are conducted on a regular basis.

IP 157-761

In this connection, every opportunity to exploit differences of opinion between leadership and the organization itself is utilized.

The Indianapolis Division has recently made an anonymous mailing to various union officials and police organizations in the Indiana area, which includes a reproduction of a column written by VICTOR RIESEL regarding the BPP, Part of his column dealt with the proposal that union members refuse to handle shipments of BPP newspapers and generally boycott BPP transmissions.

## 3. Tangible Results

No tangible results regarding an anonymous mailing captioned "Let's Compare the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party with 'Like It Is,' " have come to the attention of the Indianapolis Division, nor have any tangible results been noted with regard to the VICTOR RIESEL article.

The Indianapolis chapter of the BPP does, however, continue to incur expenses which they do not pay, indicating that funds have become increasingly difficult to obtain. The "Black Panther," BPP national newspaper, has not been received by the Indianapolis chapter for several months, with the exception of a single shipment from Chicago of approximately 500 papers in early January, 1971.

Reliable informants advised that BPP in Indianapolis is receiving no contributions at this time.

4. Development of Counterintelligence Interest

There have been no further developments of counter-intelligence interest other than those mentioned above.

Airtel

Registered

To: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44806)

From: SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS

RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel dated 3-29-71.

The Indianspolis Division requests Bureau authority to implement the following plan in captioned matter:

During 4-9 - 12-71,

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

The purpose of this trip was to determine if a Cleaver Paction existed in Indiana, if there were plans to form one, or if there were individuals designated by New York as suitable candidates.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

CLASSIFIED BY 44/17 on 12, EXEMPT FROM CHNERAL DECLARATION : SCHEDULE OF ENECYT FORER 11882 2 - Buresu (Registered) (4) Indianapolis 1 - 157-3060 (BPP Underground) 1 - 157-1061A (BPP Indianapolis Division) HPL/efr Searched (6)

NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page. 259

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: RD 35 219 By: SNC, NARA Date: 1/19/13

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FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

The Indianapolis Division has no intention of encouraging the formation of any Cleaver Faction in the Indiana area but does suggest that

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

It will further identify the more radical members and former members of the BPP permitting a more accurate evaluation of their dangerousness.

It could identify former members working in the underground, or those who desire such extremist activity, and identify their objectives and plans to effect their purpose.

It would certainly serve to occupy the time of current BPP members with intra-party activity permitting less concentration and implementation of Extremist activity that could ignite racial unrest in the Indianapolis area.



IP 157-761

# CONTRIVIAL

It could possibly cause the complete disintegration of the BPP in Indianapolis and Evansville, Indiana.

Hopefully, it could lead to the determination of an escape route from this country abroad.

While the Indianapolis Division recognizes the potential risk involved in such a tactic, it feels that Total (b) (7) - (D) an be properly controlled and effectively directed to insure adequate control of BPP activities of both the FOIA(b) (7) - (D) in the Indiana area, by this Bureau.

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

He would not be permitted to institute any activity which could coalesce those contacted, which would be in violation of any law or which would in any way create a situation of entrapment.

Hopefully, FOIR(b)(7) - (D) in Indiana would be turned into a benign "study group" that would also disperse with the passage of time and a lack of interest as "members" matured and found legitimate and more profitable pursuits.

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Date: 4/26/71

Fransinit the	following	jn
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(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_Airtel

Priority)

To:

SACs, Indianapolis (157-1061) New York

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VFrom: Director, FBI

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CLEAVER FACTION RACIAL MATTERS

RelPairtel and LHM 4/15/71. Andianapolis is to have FOIA(b)(7) - (D) targeted to maintain contact with New York City. Cleaver Faction leaders so as to obtain organizational plans and activities of Endividuals involved. Instruct PEI that he is not to become the organizer of a Cleaver Faction Chapter in Indiana or become involved in acts of violence. FRI should attempt to maintain a neutral position with both factions so that his lines of communication will be maintained.

New York contact logical informants to corroborate information that Cleaver Faction meeting was held 4/11/71 at 1370 Boston Road, Bronx, New York. New York also attempt to verify staff meetings are held at this location on Sundays for training purposes.

157-761-112

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NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 263

#### FBI

Date: 4/28/71 Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_ (Type in plaintext or code) Via \_ Airtel (Priority) SAC, Albany PERSONAL ATTENTION From: Director, FBI COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS) INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS Effective immediately, all COINTELPROS operated by this Bureau are discontinued. These include: COINTELPRO - Espionage COINTELPRO - New Left COINTELPRO - Disruption of White Hate Groups COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA Counterintelligence and Special Operations COINTELPRO - Black Extremists Socialist Workers Party - Disruption Program In exceptional instances where it is considered counterintelligence action is warranted, recommendations should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual case caption to which it pertains. These recommendations will be considered on an individual basis. You are reminded prior Bureau authority is required before initiating any activity of a counterintelligence nature. Host luc 2 - All Field Offices (PERSONAL ATTENTION) 157-761-113

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FBI Date: 4/26/71 ... Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code) Airtel (Priority) SACs, Indianapolis New York /grom: Director, FBI BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CLEAVER FACTION RACIAL MATTERS Respairted and LHM 4/15/71. Indianapolis is to FOIA(b)(7) - (D)targeted to maintain contact with New York City Cleaver Faction leaders so as to obtain organizational plans and activities of individuals involved. Instruct PRI that he is not to become the organizer of a Cleaver Faction Chapter in Indiana or become involved in acts of violence. PRI should attempt to maintain a neutral position with both factions so that his lines of communication will be maintained. New York contact logical informants to corroborate information that Cleaver Faction meeting was held 4/11/71 at 1370 Boston Road, Bronx, New York. New York also attempt to verify staff meetings are held at this location on Sundays for training purposes. 157-761-114 SERIALIZED \_ Handle APR 2.01971

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#### ·UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Indianapolis, Indiana

September 2, 1971

COMPIDENTAL

Authority: RD 35214
By: Suc. NAHA Date: 4779713
FB3 A. to Dudasi

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

On September 1, 1971, a confidential source with whom insufficient contact has been held to determine reliability furnished the following rough draft report to the "Central Committee, Black Panther Party" from the "Central Staff of the Indiana Chapter". This report, dated September 1, 1971, was composed by Rosalind Y. Frazier, Field Lieutenant and Area Captain, EPP, Indianapolis, and concerns the "Reorganization and Decentralization of Powers", according to this source. This report was sent to BPP groups in Oakland, California; Chicago, Illinois; New York, New York; Washington, D. C.; and Algiers, Algria, Newton and Cleaver factions of the BPP, and the Midwest, Eastern, and Southeastern leadership areas, according to this source.

This confidential source noted that the Indianapolis BPP had been advised by the Chicago BPP group several months ago that "decentralization" would be the new BPP theme. Indianapolis became tired of waiting for the announcement to be made and finally took things into their own hands.

This source further advised that the local BPP has plans to form in several Indiana cities with a Central Staff directing. That staff will be composed of elected leaders within the branches who plan to meet monthly in cities where the BPP exists on a rotary basis. Activity in this regard is scheduled for the latter part of September, 1971.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FRI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. | 5 7

.157-761-113

157-761- 2844 Counterintelligence

Serialized Pulls

Excluded from automatic

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TTOT.

NW 11637 DocId: 59167388 Page 265

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 2 - New York (100-161993) (RM)
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2 - WFO (100-45995) (RM)
23 - Indianapolis
     (2 - 157-1061 - BPP)
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     (1 - 157-1238 - DONALD CAMPBELL)
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     (1
        - 100-16137 - The Participant)
     (1 - 157-761 - BPP Counterintelligence)
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     (1 - 157-33 -BSU)
        - 100-16308) - Peace & Freedom Party.
     (1 - 100 -
                      - Radical Student Union, Alliance of
                         Asian Afro-American Students)
     (1 - 100 -
                      - Gay Liberation)
     (1 - 100-20250 - Women's Lib)
     (1 - 157-2241 - HUEY P. NEWTON)
     (1 - 157-1149 - ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
     (1 - 157-3850 - Black Nationalist Movement)
     (1 - FOIA(b)(7) - (D)
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#### COMPIDENTIAL

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY

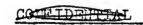
This source further noted that the main theme of the independent Indiana group will be "community service" with emphasis on "free medical centers". "Self-defense", although retained, is to be de-emphasized.

As noted in the accompanying report, the BPP will work with white organizations and those of mixed racial composition. The source utilized above stated, however, that the BPP will remain exclusively black.

A primary goal, according to this source, will be the education of the poor and disadvantaged to a higher level of political awareness.

This source noted that the Indiana group plans no publicity for its move toward independence from the national BPP organization but will publish the report below and an introductory letter in a local political publication entitled "The Participant", which is edited by Frazier.

The report referred to above is as follows:



To: Central Committee, Black Panther Party

From: Central Staff of the Indiana Chapter RE: Re-organization and Decentralization of Powers

RE: Re-organization and December 1, 1971

Comrades in the Struggle,

Logics has long advocated that the motivation of revolutionary development was the offspring of a periodical investigation of the dialectical and historical development, in essences an examination of the things that went down in the past and produced the existing conditions that upsurged the need for change. It has stated on the continuium of life that every human being at a certain point remebers from whence he came and where at that particular time he desires to go. The product of understanding dialectical and historical development and the speculation speculation of the direction desired is inddeed an evolutionary process in itself as much as the practice of the admitted need for change is the revolutionary process inwhich the oppressed people's struggle has assigned as its foundational advention, the need to rise from a lower level to a higher level.

The ideology of the Black Panther Party has been one that advocated such revolutionary progression for the people. It has welcomed criticism not because the ideology is sanctioned as infallable but because of the contrary, it is fallable, like humans that tend to err, it is humanistic ideology. The theories of the party on a whole that is but the human beings, who have while clinging to the values of the tradition of the superstructure, re-interpsted the ideology of the party to such a degree that it has not only stagnated the political and social practice of the party and its affiliates but has produced bureaucractic revolutionaries, theoriticians and ideology.

- 40,000

COMPENSAL

Here in Indiana, the organizational process has been severely influenced by the lacksidesical manner of handling those legitimate grievances inwhich this critique was directed. The relationship between
the Indiana Chapter and the Central Corrected has been equalled to that
of the political prisoners of Babylon and the Tacist courts, No Justice,
No Understanding, No reasons Why... Just a verdict of guilty for not
being an ideological flunky or indentured shave to the Central Corrected.
Therefore as logica advocated, the theories, the protice, the times,
THEY AME CHARGING.

when once it was appropriate for a Central committee to practice complete autonomy over its satelites it is now obsolute and as the continuance as repressive as the apperstructure itself that has reached the epitome of repression by daring to take Capitalism to its highest level, imperalism. The continuance of the practice of autonomy is fatal. It is fetal because it deprieves the satelites the respect of Human Dignity, and with this is mind as logics advocated semething has to go, either the right to acquire the respect of Human dignity or the habelition of those autorical powers.

Deing people, working for the liberation of the third world people and revolution in the mother country, the Indiana Chapter advocates the latter of the two siternatives. WE believe that the book of revolution with Black people as a venguard was written by the Black Penther Perty for Self Defence in Cakland California, with Huey P. Newton as minister of Defence, Bobby Scale as Chairman and Eldrigo Cleaver as Minister of Information, However typical of any book with different sections relaying different means of approach for the common result of liberation, we firmly believe that we are section, the Chapter, that reads INDIANA

CONFIDERAL

We feel that recognition of practice, sincerity and legitimacy is not determined by a group outside the a rea concerned but by the people that live within. Social practice determines the reception of the people not the fact whether or not Central Committee recognizes us a s being Panthers.

COMPUDITION

Therefore the Indiana Chater of the Black Panther Party has decided to:

- 1. Send bi-monthly progress reports on the different social programs in Indiana to the Central Committee via Oakland, New York and Algiers.
- 2. Exchange only information with those locations in particular and other revolutionary organizations in general for the saftey and well being of the revolutionary struggle.
- 3. Since this document is an advocation of the decentralization of the Party Powers, the Indiana Chapter will also furnish its independent newspaper, the <u>Participant</u>, that deals with the innercommunal scene and the oppression in Indiana.
- 4. If and when in travel members of the organiza tion will report into the local Chapters and branches, who will upon their arrival contact the branch in Indiana that particular person is supposed to represent.
- 5.Other Chapters and branches whose members, including the Cent ral Committee venture within the boundaries of Indiana must report into the Chapter or be taken before the people tribunal of Indiana as agents provacators.
- 6. In dealing with the decentralization of powers the Indiana Chapter will:
  - a. Coalesce with any organization that puts it s theory into pra cti
- b. Recognize the Indiana Chapter of the Poace and Freedom Party and its affiliates as an effective educating tool in the white and bewilder W 11637 Docid: 59167388 Page 270

BLACK PANTHER PARTY GOT Indiana of Indiana of Indiana

- e. We recognize the Progressive Labour Farty as an organization dedicated to the aboliton of union laskeys and superstructure domination for better unges and community central over the productivity of industry.
- d. To recognize any mother country radical the puts revolutionary theory into practice as an educational means of raising the political a vereness of the community he represents.
- o. We recognize the Black Student Union as a faction of and vanguard for the Radical Student Union of Indiana
- if. We recognise and will coalesce with those members of the gay liberation and women's liberation movements who recognize @ their oppression as a result of Capitalian, the exploitation of human by human for profit and advocates the need for class struggle inlieuof social concious raising.

In other words, Deer Comrades the indiana Chapter theorectically has not altered the ideology of the Elack Penther Party at all, not at a ll, but thus altered the practice. To are determined in one way or the other to put the theories of the party into practice, which has been contrary to the practice of the entire membership of the Elack Panther Party

We are not nowtonish, Cleaverites or Scalaist period. We are revolutionaries dedicated to liberation in the black colonies and revolution the mother countries.

We denounced Donald Campbell as defense Captein of the Indiana Chapter for his neglect of puting revolutionary theory into practice.

Stagnating the party in Indiana inform of being classified as a Newtonist or Cleavorite. Perficting four rooms of examining equipment for our medical clinic that took up two years to acquire because

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COMPANIENTAL

he claimed that there was no one available to supervise the program, when the linister of Defence himself stated that survival programs were to be turned ever to the people of the community, who were able end willing to co-ordinate the medical program

is an individualist, " I om the Indiana Chapter of the Black Panther Party". One men tribunal and etc.

We denounce Mieth Farker for his ability to separate Mieth tha revolutionary from Higth the Student Body president and Lackey of Donald Campbell.

However Dear Comrades our grieveness do not a ly reside with the past aministration of the Indiana Chapter but with the Central too as woll.

1. The Evensville branch of the Black Pinther Party has still not recleved the newspapers it has purchased. We have a reclept. Distribution stated that it was necessary for us to get a validation from un irresponsible defense Captain when it was not needed , because the papers were ordered by the distribution co-ordinator of the Indiana Chapter.

Lack of communications about the purges and split . The Endiland Chapter learned about the split from the reactionary news media.

Under orders we estated two revolutionary brothers during times financial crisises in Hovemehr to recive a telophone bill over 500 dellars and when approaching the Central Staff about the orisis. because the paper money was involved in turning the phone on for communc ations purpose, the telephone was sirmed in our cars.

In espaces it can be stated that the Indiana Chapter for the Past COMPLETED



two h years have been working on the principle of Juche, self reliance self customance and self defence and will continue to move in such member. We as a revolutionary Vnaguard ensuer only to the people of Indiana and are not concerned with the picyunish madness of whether or not the Central Committee accepts us as a revolutionary organization or a Chapter in the Black Panther Party or not. We on't give a darm.

Therefore in closing the solution of the problems that have been confuncting the various chapters and branches are in your hands, you can decided whether or not you will remain the dead weight of the people's struggle or the Central committee of the Black Panther party dedicated to liberation by a means of criticism and celf criticism for progress.

Free all Political prisoners who are incarcorated either physically or menatlly by the Pig Power Structure. POWER

Central Staif of the Indiana E Temporary, mailing accresses 414 3. Grant, Crawfordsville Indiana

COMPTO THE IAL

With regard to the address 414 South Grant Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana, source noted that to be the home address of Finley C. Campbell, a "supporter of the revolutionary struggle," candidate for Governor of Indiana in 1972 on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket, but not a member of the BPP.

Source noted that Frazier stays at Campbell's on occasion in order to keep an irregular pattern of residence, and, in this regard, plans to depart Indianapolis, Indiana, at 5:00 p.m., on September 2, 1971, for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Source advised that Frazier will visit with her parents in that city and return to Indianapolis on September 8, 1971. This source added that Frazier will travel by bus.

FBI

	. Date: 9/2/71
Γιαnsm	it the following in (Type in plaintext or code)
/ia	AIRTEL
/10	(Priority)
	TO: Director, FBI (105-165706 Sub 21)
	FROM: SAC, Indianapolis (157-1061) (P)
	BLACK PANTHER PARTY EM - BPP
	Enclosed herewith are eight copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.
	Source utilized in this report is FOIA(b)(7) - (D)  from whom data is accepted in compliance with Bureau instructions.
	2 - Bureau (Enc 8)(RM) 2 - Chicago (Enc 2) (157-1291) (RM) 2 - New York (Enc 2) (100-161993) (RM) 1 - Philadelphia (Pnc 1) (Info) (157-2004) (RM) 2 - San Francisco (Enc 2) (157-1204) (RM) 2 - WFO (Enc 2) (100-45995) (RM)  1 - Indianapolis (2 - 157-1061 - BPP) (1 - 100 - Gay Liberation) (1 - 157-1238 - DONALD CAMPBELL) (1 - 157-2241 - HUEK P. NIEWTON) (1 - 157-2130 - KEITH PARKER) (1 - 157-2149 - ELDRIDGE CLEV) (1 - 157-2016 - FINLEY CAMPBYLL) (1 - 157-1149 - ELDRIDGE CLEV) (1 - 157-2016 - FINLEY CAMPBYLL) (1 - 157-3859 - Black Fetfondian (1 - 157-3163 - BPP Counterintelligence) (1 - 157-3163 - BPP Communist Influence) (1 - 157-3163 - BPP Films & Publications) (1 - 157-3160 - BPP Films & Publications)
F	(34) hpproved:M Per
•	Special Agent in Charge

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IP 157-1061

LHM is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since data contained therein is only available to source utilized. Unauthorized disclosure of such data could easily identify this source of continuing value and consequently have an adverse effect on the national defense interests of this country.

To further protect this source and since no corroborative data is available, no dissemination to other agencies is being made at this time.

Upon the receipt of data verifying information in LHM, title will be changed by the Indianapolis Division.

No leads to cover FRAZIER's travel are being set forth since such travel will be monitored by FOIA(b)(7) - (D)
In the event of emergency only, this source will contact
SA EDWARD F. UZZELL in Philadelphia.

No other confidential sources were contacted regarding data in LHM but will be targeted to obtain corroborating information.

Indianapolis will follow and report additional developments in this regard.

San Francisco, New York, Chicago, and WFO should advise of data obtained concerning information contained in LHM.

# Lemorandum

SAC, Indianapolis (157-1061) DATE: 10/6/71

FROM SA HENRY P. LATINI

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

EM - BPP

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)· On 9/27/71, with whom insufficient contact has been made to determine reliability, advised that the Indianapolis Chapter of the BPP is currently defunct.

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43 - Indianapolis
                  (1 - FOIA(b)(7) - (D)
                              157-2541 - ROSALIND Y. FRAZIER)
                        - 157-3771 - WILLIE THOMAS IV)
                  (1 - 157-3812 - JESSE WILSON)
                                157-
                                                               - BRUCE COUNCIL)
                   Ţ
                                                               - LARRY WELLINGTON)
                         - 157-2508 - RAY COUNCIL)
                                                                                                                                                     The state of the s
                         - 157-1189 - ROBERT O'BANNON)
                                                               - STEVE RUSH)
                                157-
                                                               - JOHN WESLEY BRANT)
                        - 157-3483 - ROBERT TYRONE EVANS)
                                                              - PLP)
                          - 157-2016 - FINLEY C. CAMPBELL)
                          - 100-
                                                               - VICKY LEE SANDERS)
                         - 1.57 - 933
                                                               - Black Student Union)
                          - 157-1061A - BPP, Indianapolis)
                         - 157-NEW
                                                                 - BPP East Side Branch)
                         - 157-NEW
                                                                 - BPP Far East Side Branch)
                          - 157-NEW
                                                                 - BPP Elkhart)
                                                                  - BPP Ft. Wayne)
                         - 157-NEW
                                                                 - BPP South Bend)
                         - 157-N EW
                                                                 - BPP Richmond)
                         - 157-NEW
                         - 157-NEW
                                                                 - Malcolm X Institute, Crawfordsville)
                                157-3162 - BPP - Public Appearances)
                                157-2459 - BPP - Travel of Leadership)
                                157-3271 - BPP - Speaking Engagements)
                                157-3166 - RPP - Activities and Programs)
                                157-761 - BPP - Counterintelligence)
                                                               - BPP - Membership & Sympathizers)
HPL: css Cn
(43)
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19/1 INDIANAPOLIS/

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According to this source, a new organization called the Indiana BPP will take its place. This new group will consist of various branches throughout the State of Indiana, all responsible to a central staff composed of various leaders of the individual branches. According to this source, this reorganization of the BPP in Indiana is being led by ROSALIND Y. FRAZIER, Field Lieutenant and Area Captain of the BPP. This source noted that FRAZIER has several branches just about ready for operation and the only deterrent to actual activity by these groups is the internal dissension with regard to meeting places and programs to be followed.

This source noted that FRAZIER has obtained headquarters at Blake and Indiana Avenues from the Community Action Against Poverty Program. She has obtained rental of this building, a former church, for approximately \$10 a month, but various members of the BPP are afraid that the general public will feel that the Panthers have "copped out" to the establishment should they rent a building from a group supported by the Federal funds (OEO).

#### IP 157-1061

With regard to the composition of the new BPP branches, source mentioned above advised that in Indianapolis there are two groups which are being formed, one is called the East Side Branch and the other the Far East Branch. This source further advised that a branch will be operative in Evansville, Fort Wayne, Elkhart, Gary, South Bend, and Richmond, Ind. regard to the latter three groups, this source noted that FRAZIER claims that the individuals chosen to lead such groups are having domestic difficulties and because of that are not ready to operate at this time. According to this source, the Elkhart and Fort Wayne groups are ready for operation and are being led by a (FNU) DAVIS or DAVID and a DANIEL DANNER. Source was unable to provide the correct spelling of the names of leaders in Elkhart or Fort Wayne and believed that DAVIS or DAVID headed the Fort Wayne group while DANNER was to be the leader of the Elkhart organization.

This source advised that in Evensville the organization is to be led by WILLIE THOMAS IV. 'In Indianapolis, the East Side group would be led by JESSE WILSON, who will hold the position of Defense Captain; LARRY WELLINGTON, who will be Information Officer; BRUCE COUNCIL, who is to be designated as Area Captain; and RAY COUNCIL, who will hold the position of Lieutenant of Information and Education. According to this source, RAY COUNCIL will conduct political education classes, and BRUCE COUNCIL will hold the primary responsibility in the East Side group. Source noted that a Defense Captain has become a subordinate job and will entail such duties as handling finances, bail funds for members arrested, and related activities. source noted that the Far East group which will be located near Arsenal Technical High School, somewhere on Oriental St., will be led by ROBERT O'BANNON, who will hold the position of Area Captain, and by STEVE "STUFFY" RUSH, who will hold the position of Defense Captain. This source noted that RUSH is a somewhat "reactionary" individual who requires the sobering influence of a more mature individual and for that reason O'BANNON was chosen. Source noted that FRAZIER has been in frequent contact with O'BANNON, who advises that he 'needs to do something" and has given indication that once the Far East group is fully operative, he will assume the title of Area Captain to give direction to the movement. According to this source. O'BANNON will not make such a move until he is positive of the direction of the BPP in Indiana, fearing that he could possibly lose his job with Radio Station WTLC and his wife, who is opposed to activity in this regard.

With regard to the Evansville organization to be led by WILLIE THOMAS IV, JOHN WESLEY BRYANT, a very young individual in the Evansville area, will most likely assist THOMAS. TYRONE EVANS will more than likely rejoin the Indiana BPP since FRAZIER feels that he has certain capabilities which can best be utilized by that organization. EVANS had difficulty with his wife during the previous organization of the BPP in Indiana during the period January to June, 1971. FRAZIER often stayed at the EVANS' home and political education classes were reportedly conducted at that home, much to the dismay of Mrs. EVANS. Mrs. EVANS suspected that because of the great amount of time that her husband was devoting to the BPP that he was neglecting his work and his three children as well as herself and requested that FRAZIER move from their residence.

On 9/27/71, FOIA(b)(7) - (D) further advised that ROSALIND FRAZIER was in receipt of a letter from ALDRIDGE CLEAVER in which CLEAVER acknowledge receipt of a letter previously written by FRAZIER to him denouncing the BPP for incorrect implementation of philosophy. According to this source, CLEAVER's latter advised that his faction of the BPP was open for citicism and, in fact, that he welcomed a list of grievances as criticism previously sent to him by FRAZIER. According to this source, this letter was directed to FRAZIER with the title Deputy Chairman Indiana. BPP of Indiana. advised that FRAZIER could, if so inclined, accept the title bestowed by CLEAVER which would place her on an equal footing with BOBBY STALE of the NEWTON faction of the BPP. According to this source, FRAZIER has no inclination to accept the title but does plan to make available reports of activities conducted by the Indiana BPP.

In connection with these activities, this source noted that emphasis is to be placed on food and health programs. Source noted that FRAZIER plans to open medical clinics in cities where needed and various food programs, such as Breakfast for School Children, lunch, and emergency pantry programs, where they are needed. FRAZIER plans to obtain employment and assume a background position with the BPP after the various programs mentioned above are operational. She intends to work for a LENA HARRIS, who is Director of the Rap House at that establishment. She will devise various programs to assist drug addicts "kick" their habits.

Judit

IP 157-1061

This source advised with regard to FRAZIER's personal appearances at various public gatherings, that on Friday night 9/24/71, FRAZIER did not appear in Crawfordsville, Ind., to speak at the Malcolm X Institute as planned, the main reason for her failure to appear being the fact that a singing group called the Rare Earth cancelled this engagement. A number of persons who were to attend the concert of that group as well as the Malcolm X Institute program cancelled plans to go to Crawfordsville. This event at the Malcolm X Institute is to be rescheduled in the near future.

On Saturday, 9/25/71, FRAZIER spoke at the Flanner House, but did not speak on Sunday 9/26/71 as scheduled. The program there has been revised and FRAZIER is scheduled to speak on Saturday 10/2/71. FRAZIER also intends to speak at Elkhart in the near future before a National Youth Council meeting to be held there (no further data available).

On 10/2/71, FRAZIER plans to attend a public meeting to be held at the Free Church, 2126 North College, Indianapolis, which will be held in preparation for a nationwide antiwar action "moratorium" to be held 10/13/71. This source advised that FRAZIER does not plan to attend the moratorium since she does not feel that demonstrations are an effective means of protest. This source further noted that FRAZIER has advised current BPP members that they are not to attend the demonstration except as individuals desiring to observe the activities.

Source advised that FRAZIER recently attended a Progressive Labor Party (PLP) activity in Gary, Ind., along with FINLEY C. CAMPBELL and VICKY LEE SANDERS. According to this source, they traveled to Gary in SANDERS' yellow Volkswagen and attended a parade and/or demonstration held there. The source noted that FRAZIER acted as an observer and did not participate in the activities but that SANDERS and FINLEY CAMPBELL did. Source was unable to provide deailed information regarding this activity.

FRAZIER will attend the National Conference of the Black Student Union (BSU) to be held in North Carolina, in the Spring of 1972, according to this source.

# LEADS

#### INDIANA POLIS,

# At Elkhart, Indiana

Will attempt to determine complete identities of individuals referred to by source as (FNU) DAVIS or DAVID and DANTEL DANNER (phonetic) and conduct discreet investigation

in order to determine activities of those individuals developing associates and contacts as well as members being enlisted into the Indiana BPP by these individuals.

2. Should also determine when the National Youth Council is to be held and provide coverage in order that FRAZIER's activities can be monitored.

## At Fort Wayne, Indiana

Will conduct same investigation as set out for Elkhart.

# At Gary, Indiana

Display photographs of FRAZIER to confidential sources in order to verify information regarding attendance of FRAZIER at a PLP activity and attempt to determine any formation of the BPP in that city.

## At Evansville, Indiana

Will conduct appropriate investigation to determine the extent of activities of Imliana BPP Evansville Branch, membership and leadership, activities, plans, and programs thereof.

# At Richmond, Indiana

Will attempt to determine any activity or formation of branches of the Indiana BPP in those cities.

# At South Bend, Indiana

Will conduct same investigation as set out for Richmond, Indiana.

# At Indianapolis, Indiana

Will conduct appropriate investigation to determine leadership, membership, activities, and programs planned by Indiana BPP in the Indianapolis area.

Upon determination of activities of DANNER and DAVIS (or DAVID) within the BPP, will open cases on those individuals.

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ACCOUNT OF	MEETING AT	2138 CATH	ERWOOD.		
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### January 4, 1972

On 1/2/72, a meeting was held at the residence of ROSALIND FRAZIER, 2138 Catherwood, Apartment 3C, Indianapolis, Indiana, for the purpose of reconstructing the Black Panther Party in Indiana. The meeting began at 3:30 PM and ended at approximately 9:00 PM.

Individuals in attendance at this meeting were: ROSALIND FRAZIER, JAMES STUBBS, HARRY BLACKWELL, JESSE WILSON, RODNEY CRAIG, BRUCE COUNCIL, RAY COUNCIL, VINCE (LNU), WILL (LNU), and MIKE (LNU).

Those holding positions as officers in the newly organized group are: JAMES STUBES, Minister of Information; HARRY BLACKWELL, Minister of Finance; JESSE WILSON, Minister of Defense; and RAY COUNCIL, Minister of Education. Other individuals are being considered for positions to be filled in the immediate future. FRAZIER stipulated that no officers could hold full-time employment or be full-time students. A system of a rotating chairman was discussed as a means of keeping power from falling into any one individual's hands. It was agreed that the new BPP group would be independent of both New York and Oakland. The failure of the BPP nationally and locally was discussed and emphasis was placed on not making the same mistakes again. An official ideology will be prepared by BLACKWELL setting out the direction the group will take in Indianapolis. The phrase "extreme left" was

used frequently in the meeting characterizing the intended philosophy of the group. The first six months will be devoted to concentration of efforts in Indianapolis with little concern with national and state BPP activities. A legally purchased and registered pump shotgun will be obtained by each officer at varying locations in and around Indianapolis and stored at the "People's Information Center" facility. A food pantry program, clothing program, and health clinic were discussed as community programs to be sponsored by the group. The services of Dr. Rheinhart, M.D. and Bigby Bail Bond are hoped to be obtained for the group. Emphasis was placed on setting an example in Indianapolis when and if "pigs rip off" someone in the community. A paper will be published locally by the group and will be headed by FRAZIER. The group is currently in possession of pamphlets from Algiers which will be distributed in the community. A checking account will be opened at a local bank to keep the group's finances secure. The account will possibly be with Finances to operate the group's activities will be secured from donations and speaking engagements at colleges, universities, etc. Those most likely to participate in such speaking engagements are FRAZIER, BLACKWELL, and STUBBS. unknown white male in Indianapolis is believed to be currently donating large sums of money toward the support of the group's activities.

A facility at an unknown location has been secured by FRAZIER for the office of the group and will be called "People's Information Center." The group will have a staff of five individuals at the office. The group is to move into this facility on 1/8/72.

VINCE (LNU) is a university student who wears glasses and is characterized as extremely militant talking.

WILL (LNU) is believed to have come with BLACKWELL and is thought to have been a member of the "old" BPP in Indianapolis.

BPP activities, past and present, in Elkhart, Richmond, Evansville, and Marion, Indiana, were mentioned. It was not clear if any group was currently active or any individuals hold leadership positions in these cities at the present.

A BSU meeting at an unknown university on January 15, 1972, was mentioned with the possibility of sending a delegation.

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Transmit in ... (Type in plaintext or code)

(Priority)

SAC, Albany

December 24:, 1974

(Date)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS RACIAL MATTERS BUDED: 1/23/75

FBIHQ is in receipt of a request under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) for documents relating to captioned discontinued program. In accordance with policy established earlier this year, HQ has reviewed all sections of its files relating to this program and individually classified all serials determined to be classifiable, it being noted the Department has previously been advised we would take this action when documents become subject to a request for public disclosure.

Enclosed for each recipient is a work paper setting forth identities of copies of documents which have been currently classified which must also be classified in respective field office files. Each recipient of the work paper is instructed to review it to insure all copies of the documents listed as classified at HQ are classified in the same manner in the respective field office program file. each instance where a document has been classified in the HQ file, it will be necessary that the same classification. number of classifying officer, exemption category and date classified be noted on the field office original or copy of the communication. In every instance, the date of declassification will be indicated as "Indefinite."

2 All Offices With Enclosure 2 - Legat, Ottawa (Enclosure)

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" 1974 CT FBI - INDIANAPOLIS

PLANTED //23/25

Airtel to Albany
Re: Counterintelligence Program
Black Nationalist Hate Groups
Racial Matters
100-448006

In instances where the information set forth in the enclosed work paper is not clear, or set forth in a manner which does not permit location of the field office document to be classified, HQ should be advised and further information will be forwarded. All correspondence concerning this matter should, if possible, contain the number of the work paper page(s) (located at center top) in question.

In connection with this classification project, you should refer to the Manual of Rules and Regulations, Part II, Section 4, pages 53-57b, for instructions relating to classification procedures. Any questions regarding classification matters should be directed to FBIHQ, attention: Classification Officer.

In addition to classifying documents in field office files which have already been classified at HQ, it will be incumbent upon each recipient having a Black Extremist Cointelpro file to review it to insure all other documents which are classifiable are appropriately classified. This will include both intraoffice documents as well as documents furnished to other offices. In instances where another office has been furnished copies of a document, it is the responsibility of the originating office to furnish all recipients (excluding FBIHQ) sufficient information so they may classify their copies of the document in the same manner as the originator. Recipients should review indices to insure any classifiable Black Extremist Cointelpro material in their files is classified.

In classifying a document on a retroactive basis, bear in mind it is necessary to include the date the document was classified at FBIHQ, and the date the classification is actually affixed if classified in the field.

You will note the enclosed work papers indicate other FBIHQ files which contain copies of documents which appear in this program file, which also must be classified. FBIHQ is

Airtel to Albany
Re: Counterintelligence Program
Black Nationalist Hate Groups
Racial Matters
100-448006

undertaking this classification. It will be incumbent upon each recipient to insure all copies of documents classified in its program file are also appropriately classified if they appear in any of its other office files.

This project must be handled on an expeditious basis and be completed by 1/23/75. Insure sufficient personnel are assigned to meet this deadline. On or before 1/23/75 FBIHQ must be advised by each recipient of the completion of the project. Any problems relating to this project should be expeditiously furnished FBIHQ together with appropriate recommendations.

-		FBI		
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JAN 1 5 1975

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1/21/75

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, Indianapolis (157-761) (RUC)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL MATTERS
BUDED: 1/23/75

ReBuairtel to AL, with enclosure, dated 12/24/74.

Indianapolis Division has reviewed captioned file in its entirety and has classified all documents in above file as noted in referenced Bureau enclosure. All documents in above captioned file have been reviewed and appropriately handled.

In view of the fact this project has been completed in the Indianapolis Division, this case is being RUC'd.

2 - Bureau
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

### 1emorandum

TO : Director, FBI DATE:

2/25/77

FROM: SAC, Indianapolis (157-1061) (RUC)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, ET AL, VERSUS

EDWARD LEVI, ET AL,

(U. S. DISTRICT COURT, D. C.) CIVIL ACTION FILE NUMBER 76-2205

Re Bureau airtel, dated 2/8/77.

A check of indices in the Indianapolis Division revealed the following individuals did not have a file and no references were made to the following individuals:

> THOMAS GLADWIN FLORA GLADWIN JOHN GEORGE JOHN HUGGINS ELIZABETH HUGGINS FATHER EARL NEIL ELAINE BROWN

The Indianapolis Division does contain files on the following individuals and organizations:

BERTON JEROME SCHNEIDER

BuFile: 157-19403 IPFile: 157-5718

One section, no sub sections, contains five serials, no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

HUEY P. NEWTON

BuFile: 105-165429

157-2241

One section, no sub-sections, contains 56 serials, no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

DONALD MARTIN FREED

BuFile: 100-447268

IPFile: None

Description and succinct profile can be found in 

Bureau

Indianapolis (1-157-761) (1-157-5718) (1-157-22419)

AY/bab

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plantrey.

NW 11637 DocId:59167388 Page 301

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

### 157-1061

BLACK PANTHER PARTY BuFile: 105-165706 IPFile: 157-1061

One main section with seven subsections. The main section contains 48 volumes and 5772 serials. This file contains no bulky exhibits or enclosures. Subsections of this file are as follows:

Indianapolis Chapter 157-1061A - contains 525 serials. This sub-file contains no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

Evansville Chapter 157-1061B - contains 214 serials. This sub-file contains no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

Gary Chapter
157-1061C - contains 136 serials. This sub-file contains no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

Elkhart Chapter 157-1061D - contains 23 serials. This sub-file contains no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

Ft. Wayne Chapter 157-1061E - contains 13 serials. This sub-file contains no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

Richmond Chapter 157-1061F - contains 13 serials. This sub-file contains no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

South Bend Chapter 157-1061G - contains 8 serials. This sub-file contains no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

Lafayette Chapter 157-1061H - contains 11 serials. This sub-file contains no bulky exhibits or enclosures.

It should be noted that all sub-files of 157-1061 pertain to various Black Panther Chapters which existed in Indiana. All information in sub-files can be found in the main file.

### IP 157-1061

Electronic surveillance indices (IP 66-3051) searched in Indianapolis Division for captioned organization and members with negative results.

The Indianapolis Division does contain the following COINTELPRO file:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
BuFile: 100-448006

IPFile: 157-761
This file contains one section, no sub-sections and 122 serials. No bulky exhibits or enclosures are in this file.

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COUNTERINIFLLIGENCE PROGRAM (COINTELPRO).

COMMITTEE (SRC) OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS BEEN CONDUCTING A SURVEY OF A NUMBER OF OUR DISCONTINUED.

COINTELPROS AND HAS MADE A DETERMINATION THAT CERTAIN TARGETS SHOULD BE NOTIFIED. THE ACTUAL NOTIFICATION WILL BE EFFECTED BY THE DEPARTMENT AND NO BUREAU PERSONNEL WILL BE INVOLVED. THE SRC HAS ADVISED THAT THEY ARE CONSIDERING NOTIFYING APPROXIMATELY 182 ADDITIONAL INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE TARGETS OF COINTELPRO. TO FACILITATE HANDLING OF THESE NOTIFICATIONS, THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS TO BE OBTAINED BY ALL OFFICES TO ASSIST THE DEPARTMENT IN THEIR NOTIFICATION OF THE RESPECTIVE TARGETS:

1 105- 7811. 1 157-761 SEARCHED INDIANAPOLIE

JUN 2 - 1977

FBI-INDIANAPOLIE

157-261-134

PAGE TWO E F T 0 (100-448006)

- I. WILL NOTIFICATION DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF AN INFORMANT OR COMPROMISE SENSITIVE SOURCES OR METHODS?
- 2. ANY CUPRENT OR, PENDING LITIGATION REGARDING TARGET IN WHICH FBI OR DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS AN INTERESTED PARTY?
- 3. A CHECK OF FIELD OFFICE INDICES, APPROPRIATE TELEPHONE AND STREET DIRECTORIES, TO ASCERTAIN LAST KNOWN ADDRESS
  OF THE TARGET ONLY. NO ADDITIONAL ATTEMPT IS TO BE MADE TO
  OBTAIN ADDRESS FOR THE TARGET OR TARGETS, AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD ANY INVESTIGATIVE ACTION BE UTILIZED. YOUR
  OFFICE SHOULD ALSO FURNISH ANY OTHER INFORMATION IN YOUR FILES
  WHICH WOULD MITIGATE AGAINST NOTIFICATION (I.E. FAILURE OR
  IMPLEMENT A PROPOSED COINTELPRO ACTION AGAINST THE TARGET OR
  TARGETS).

YOU WILL BE ADVISED BY TELETYPE, UNDER THE INDIVIDUAL CAPTION OF TARGETS TO BE NOTIFIED. THESE TELETYPES WILL MAKE REFERENCE TO INSTANT TELETYPE AND THE ABOVE INFORMATION IS TO BE OBTAINED FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL TARGET.

RT

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TO:	DIRECTOR, FBI (66-3	3286 SUB B)	
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FROM:	SAC, LOS ANGELES (		٠.
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